



*Pondering over the destiny of the Nation*

10TH JULY 1964

# Adibasi

Vol-6

1964-65 NUMBER ONE

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*Editor*

G. N. DAS, L.A.R.

*Joint Editors*

K. MOHAPATRA

J. K. BOUT

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## Jawaharlal Nehru on the Tribal People

The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways.

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I am alarmed when I see—not only in this country but in other great countries too—how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? This applies equally to national and international fields. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries.

I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain their's is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second-rate copy of ourselves.

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I came across the tribal people first, rather distantly, in various parts of India other than the North-East Frontier. These tribes were the Gonds, the Santals and the Bhils. I was attracted to them and liked them and I had a feeling that we should help them to grow in their own way.

Later, I came in touch with the tribal people of the North-East Frontier of India, more especially of the Hill Districts of Assam. My liking for them grew and with it came respect. I had no sensation of superiority over them. My ideas were not clear at all, but I felt that we should avoid two extreme courses: one was to treat them as anthropological specimens for study and the other was to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. These reactions were instinctive and not based on any knowledge or experience. Later, in considering various aspects of these

problems and in discussing them with those who knew much more than I did, more definite idea took shape in my mind and I began to doubt how far the normal idea of progress was beneficial for these people and, indeed, whether this was progress at all in any real sense of the word. It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them.

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We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:—

(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

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Tamed by affliction



With tribal dancers from Orissa



He was one among them





A happy moment in Orissa (with Shri B. Pattnaik, Chairman,  
Planning Board)

EDITOR, G. N. DAS, I. A. S.

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# ADIBASI

10TH JULY 1964

1964-65 NUMBER ONE

## WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN A MID-TERM APPRAISAL FOR ORISSA

According to the 1951 Census of Orissa the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population was 2,967,134 and 2,630,763 respectively out of the total population of 14,645,946. Thus the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes constituted 20.2 per cent and 17.9 per cent, respectively of the total population. According to the 1961 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are 4,223,757 and 2,763,858, constituting 24.07 per cent and 15.74 per cent of the total population of 17,548,846. There has been an increase of 42 per cent in the Scheduled Tribe population whereas the increase in the case of Scheduled Caste population is 7.06 per cent. The higher percentage in respect of Scheduled Tribes population is due to the inclusion of a few more communities in the Scheduled Tribes' list by an order of the President in 1956. There are at present as many as 62 tribes in the State. There is a heavy concentration of tribes in the four districts of Mayurbhanj, Sandargarh, Koraput and Phulbani and the agency areas of Ganjam district, the tribal

population in these areas coming to a total of 2,485,000. These areas containing 59 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population, constitute the scheduled area of the State.

On cultural basis the tribes of Orissa can be classified into the following categories (1) Tribes remaining in primitive isolation, (2) Tribes in transition, (3) Assimilated tribes, and (4) Aristocratic tribes. The first category of tribes are still living in inaccessible hilly areas with their distinctive way of living. The forces of change have not penetrated into these areas and the various development programmes in the last two plan periods have not touched them. These tribes mainly depend on the bounty of nature with an extremely primitive technology. The tribes in transition live at the foot of the hills. They carry on some amount of wet cultivation on beds of hill-streams. While retaining their tribal characteristics they have acquired some of the cultural traits of their non-tribal neighbours. The assimilated tribes have lost their original tribal

characteristics and have been integrated into the caste structure of rural societies. The so-called aristocratic tribes claim to be descendants of deities or great warriors.

Recently Government considered the problems of the tribes of the first category and have decided to pay special attention to them. They have been enumerated as follows:—

District	Subdivision	Name of backward tribe	Approximate population
Koraput	Rayagada	Dongria Kondh	50,000
		Jharis Kondh	25,000
		Kotia Kondh	5,000
	(Kashipur area)	Kondh	15,000
		Gumapur	Lanjia Saora
	Kotia Kondh Santals		
	Malkangiri	Bandaparaia	10,000
		Koya	30,000
	Nowrangpur	Banjari or Banjara	
		Chanchu	
		Peranga	
		Kondha	
		Gadaba	
Jatapu			
Ganjam	Parlakimedi	Lanjia Saora	50,000
		Arsi Saora	
Phulbani	Baliguda	Kotia Kondh	15,000
Keonjhar	Sadar	Juang	17,000
		Paudi Bhuyan	20,000
Sundargarh	Batal	Paudi Bhuyan	15,000
		Bikhar	
		Mankidi	
		Mankirdia	
Dhenkanal	Pallaikata	Paudi Bhuyan	2,000
		Juang	2,000
Total			2,41,000

These tribes have been classified as 'A' category tribes and for the rapid improvement of their economic condition special concentrated efforts are now being made by comprehensive resettlement programmes with all facilities for agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, poultry, piggery, marketing of their produce, purchase and sale centres and supply of daily necessities of these tribes are being taken up. Government of India have specifically approved an expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs during the Third Plan period for resettling at least 200 families of these 'A' category tribes.

The problem of welfare of Backward Classes has been receiving special attention of the State Government ever since 1946. Prior to the First Plan, an expenditure of the order of Rs. 46 lakhs was incurred for this purpose. In the First Plan this was stepped up to Rs. 2,27.56 lakhs out of which a sum of Rs. 1,45.11 lakhs was incurred under State Plan. The total outlay for the Second Plan was kept at Rs. 7.16 lakhs, Rs. 3.80 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.36 lakhs under Central Sector. The actual expenditure incurred was Rs. 6.60.09 lakhs, Rs. 3.31.94 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.28.15 lakhs under the Central Sector.

At the time of formulation of Third Plan, proposals were made for a sum of Rs. 5,25.55 lakhs in the State Sector and Rs. 10,78.15 lakhs under Central Sector. However, the total outlay of the Third Plan for the welfare of Backward Classes was fixed at Rs. 9.87 lakhs when the proposals for the Third Plan were discussed at Delhi on the 4th November 1960. Out of this Rs. 5.24 lakhs was earmarked for opening 100 Tribal Development Blocks and the balance of Rs. 4.63 lakhs for other schemes as approved by the Government of India. The State Sector of the plan was fixed at Rs. 4.63 lakhs covering all the schemes as approved by the Central Working Group and the Tribal Development Block programme as left to the Central Sector with the allocation of Rs. 5.24 lakhs. Subsequently, Government of India revised the allocation of Tribal Development Blocks to Rs. 3,05.18 lakhs due to the decrease in the number of Tribal Development Blocks allotted to the State and the following schemes which were included in the State Sector of the Third Plan were transferred to the Central Sector. The revised allocation in the Central Sector are shown *vis-à-vis* the original allocation in the State Sector.

Scheme	Original outlay (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised outlay (Rs. in lakhs)
<b>SCHEDULED TRIBES</b>		
(1) Forest Co-operatives	30.00	33.94
(2) Research and Training	6.00	7.90
(3) Social Education and Research	4.00	..
Total	40.00	41.84

Scheme		Original outlay (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised outlay (Rs. in lakhs)
<b>SCHEDULED CASTES</b>			
(1) Subsidy for sweepers' housing	..	20.00	...
(2) House sites for Scheduled Castes engaged in unclean occupation.	..	20.00	17.65
(3) Improvement of the working condition of sweepers and scavengers.	..	10.00	4.70
<b>Total</b>		<b>50.00</b>	<b>22.35</b>
<b>DENOTIFIED TRIBES</b>			
All Schemes	..	12.00	9.70
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>1,02.00</b>	<b>32.05</b>

So the total plan outlay of Central Sector is now Rs. 3,78.67 lakhs against the Original tentative allocation of Rs. 3.24 lakhs and the total 2nd plan

outlay under the backward classes sector stands at Rs. 8,41.67 lakhs. The category wise break-up of the outlay is as follows :—

		State Sector		Central Sector	
		Original	Revised	Original	Revised
Scheduled Tribes	..	3,01.00	3,13.00	5,24.00	3,46.00
Scheduled Castes	..	1,50.00	1,50.00	..	25.35
Denotified Tribes	..	12.00	..	..	9.70
<b>Total</b>		<b>4,63.00</b>	<b>4,63.00</b>	<b>5,24.00</b>	<b>3,78.67</b>

Consequent on the transfer of the above schemes to the Central Sector, the gap of Rs. 1.02 lakhs caused thereby

was made up by increasing the outlay of some of the schemes and a few new schemes like people's contributions

for running educational institutions in tribal areas, weavers' co-operatives, were included in the plan. The main

targets originally aimed at under a few important schemes in the Third Plan are indicated below :—

#### STATE SECTOR

##### Scheduled Tribes—

		Rs. in lakhs
1. Ashram Schools	.. 7 Schools	35
2. Pre-matric stipends	.. 25,000 students	30
3. Mid-day meals	.. 926 centres	10
4. Hostels	.. 281 hostels	15
5. Poultry rearing	.. 1. Spl. unit	5.30
	8 units	..
6. Piggery	.. 2 units	1.63
7. Graingrds	.. 575 golas	30
8. Drinking water-supply	.. 2,500 wells	25
9. Rural communication	.. 666 miles of road	10
10. Mobile Health Units	.. 9 units	19

##### Scheduled Castes—

1. Pre-matric stipends	.. 30,000 students	35
2. Hostels	.. 400 hostels	20
3. Drinking water-supply	.. 1,000 wells	19

#### CENTRAL SECTOR

##### Schedule Tribes—

1. T. D. Blocks	.. 57	3,05.18
2. Forest co-operatives	.. 48	33.94

##### Scheduled Castes—

1. Sweepers' housing and house sites for Scheduled Caste in unclean occupation.	2,220 beneficiaries	17.59
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##### Denotified Tribes—

1. Residential schools	.. 2	3.65
2. Colonisation (housing)	.. 400 hutments	3.00
3. Sinking wells	.. 120	1.20

It has been pointed out earlier that consequent upon the transfer of certain schemes to the Central Sector, outlays of some schemes were revised. A few such schemes are discussed :—

#### STATE SECTOR

##### *Scheduled Tribes—*

(1) *Ashram School*—A sum of Rs. 7.01 lakhs was required for completion of buildings of some Ashram Schools, so the existing provision was raised to Rs. 42.04 lakhs. Subsequently in 1963, Government decided to entertain more students in each Ashram School by raising the strength of each school from 90 to 120 for which a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs was estimated for each year of the remaining 3 years. The ceiling was further raised to Rs. 60 lakhs. The original target of opening 7 Ashram Schools have already been achieved. A few more are being contemplated to be opened if additional funds are available during the plan period.

(2) *Pre-Matric Stipends*—The provision of Rs. 30 lakhs for pre-matric stipends for Scheduled Tribe students was considered inadequate in view of the rate of stipends given at different levels. Hence, the amount was raised to Rs. 41 lakhs but the target for the number of students remained the same.

(3) *Hostels*—At first, the hostel buildings were roughly estimated to cost about Rs. 5,000 on average. Subsequently it was proposed to construct M. E. and High School hostels at Rs. 14,000 each and post-matric hostels at Rs. 50,000. Hence, more funds had to be provided and a sum of Rs. 24.84 lakhs was provided as against Rs. 15 lakhs for about 125 hostels.

(4) *Piggery and Goat breeding*—Originally it was contemplated to have two small piggery units at a cost of Rs. 1.63 lakhs. Subsequently it was decided to open one combined piggery and goat breeding farm at Chiplima for which a sum of Rs. 8.69 lakhs was estimated. As adequate funds could not be available the sum was reduced to Rs. 4.49 lakhs.

(5) *Drinking water supply*—The target was fixed at 2,500 wells when a sum of Rs. 1,000 was being allotted for each well. But the cost of sinking wells in hilly and tribal areas have gone up. So a sum of Rs. 1,500 is being given for each well and from 1964 onwards a sum of Rs. 2,000 would be given for the sinking of each well in hilly and difficult areas. In view of this the target will have to be fixed as low as 1,500. A further reduction under this head may be made to allot more funds under Ashram Schools but a revision would be made, if necessary, towards the last year of plan period.

*Scheduled Castes*—(1) *Pre-matric stipends*—As in the case of Scheduled Tribes, the necessity to increase the provision of Rs. 35 lakhs was keenly felt. Hence, the ceiling was raised to Rs. 60 lakhs for distribution of stipends and other grants. It has been contemplated to award stipends to about 40,000 students as against the earlier target of 30,000. Meanwhile a scheme of rationalisation of distribution of stipends at pre-matric level has been adopted whereby the number of stipendiaries is being fixed each year according to the availability of funds, the rates of stipends at different levels remain-



food. So also distribution of reading and writing materials has been fixed for different classes.

(2) *Hostels*—As in the case of Scheduled Tribes, the construction of hostel buildings was estimated at Rs. 14,000 each. More funds were therefore, required. So the outlay of Rs. 20 lakhs was raised to Rs. 32.65 lakhs for about 184 hostels.

(3) *Drinking Water Supply*—As the cost of sinking of wells has gone high, the target of 1,000 wells could not be achieved. It is being proposed to allot Rs. 2,000 for each well in hilly and remote areas from 1964 onwards. So the likely target would be about 730 wells.

#### CENTRAL SECTOR

*Scheduled Tribe*—(1) *Tribal Development Blocks*—At the time of finalisation of Third Plan targets it was agreed to open 100 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5.24 lakhs was allocated. Subsequently the Government of India fixed the percentage of tribal population for Tribal Development Blocks from 35 to 66 2/3 and allotted 57 Blocks with a reduced plan provision of Rs. 1,09.18 lakhs. Later on 5 more Tribal Development Blocks have been allotted raising the number to 62 for the Third Plan period. No revision has yet been felt necessary in the financial outlay due to shortfall in the performance in the first two years.

*Denotified Tribes*—(1) *Residential Schools*—It was originally contemplated to open two Residential Schools of Ashram School type for the

Denotified Tribes students and accordingly two schools have been opened by the end of 1963-64. Since there is demand for more it is being proposed to open one more in 1964-65, bringing the total number to 3. The likely expenditure by the end of Third Plan would be Rs. 4.48 lakhs.

(2) *Sinking of Wells*—The revised target has been fixed at 80 wells against 120 as the cost of sinking wells has gone up.

The programme of welfare measures for the backward classes are undertaken under the following broad heads:—

- (1) Education
- (2) Economic uplift
- (3) Health, Housing and other schemes.

A few selected important schemes of Third Plan under each head are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs:—

(1) *Education*—The most important scheme under this head is the Ashram School. This is a residential type of school imparting general education up to M. E. Standard and the inmates are taught certain selected crafts. All the expenses are borne by the Government. At the initial stages tremendous difficulties were experienced to get tribal student for these schools.

Concentrated efforts were made during the First Plan as a result of which interest in education began to grow and now students are available in large numbers. By the end of the Second Plan 76 Ashram Schools were opened including one for Scheduled Castes during the Second Plan. During the first three years of the

Third Plan 7 more Ashram Schools have been opened thus bringing the total number to 83. About 7,122 students including 822 girls are now reading in these institutions. Since the cost of running this type of institution is rather costly the number is very much limited. The Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes during his last visit to this State has recommended for opening a large number of Ashram Schools. In the Fourth Plan and long-term plan for Backward Classes adequate provision will be made for opening more Ashram Schools.

The Primary Education of both tribal and non-tribal population has been included in the General Education Programme. Under this programme it is aimed to cover all villages with a population of 200 or more. Therefore, no provision has been made for opening Sevashrams in the Backward Classes Sector. Recently, it was felt that the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes boys and girls in the age-group of 6—11 find it hard to go over long distances of 3 to 4 miles to prosecute their studies in Primary Schools. In order to give these students Primary Education in their villages where at least 20 or more children of the above age-group would be available, it has been decided to start *Chatusals*. More attention is being paid to the most backward tribal areas. During 1963-64, 30 *Chatusals* have been sanctioned and 100 more will be opened in 1964-65. It has also been contemplated to open 125 *Chatusals* during 1965-66.

Providing hostels in the M. E. Schools, High Schools and Colleges for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled

Tribes and other Backward Classes students has assumed importance in the welfare programmes for Backward Classes. Prior to the First Plan only one hostel at Rairangpur was opened for Adibasi boys. During the First Plan period one more special hostel was opened at New Capital for the Adibasi boys who were brought from different districts to read in the High School after they passed from Ashram Schools. During the Second Plan period this facility was extended to various institution, i.e., U. P. and M. E. School and High Schools and as many as 25 special hostels, 66 M. E. Schools hostels and 2 non-communal hostels for Scheduled Tribes and 42 U. P. and M. E. School hostels for Scheduled Castes and 143 U. P. and M. E. Hostels for other Backward Classes were opened. It has been proposed to open 135 hostels for Scheduled Tribes and 184 for Scheduled Castes in M. E. Schools, High Schools and Colleges during the Third Plan period. During the year 1961-62 and 1962-63, 40 H. E., 20 M. E. and 12 U. P. School hostels have been opened for Scheduled Tribes and 59 H. E. and 28 M. E. School hostels have been opened for Scheduled Castes. During 1963-64, 18 hostels would be opened both for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes including one for girls at New Capital. The targets fixed would be achieved by the end of the Third Plan.

### Economic Uplift

As mentioned in the preceding note, Government have decided to pay special attention to the most backward Tribes of the State and for the rapid improvement of the economic condition a special scheme has been drawn

up for resettling them. The scheme aims at bringing down these tribes from their hills above to compact areas near the foot hills or in plains with a group of 200 families. All necessary facilities like agriculture, horticulture, poultry rearing, irrigation facilities will be given to them. Besides, their children would be given special education in residential schools to be started in these colonies. Purchase and sale centres will also be opened to supply their daily needs and to market their produce through these centres. Resettling a group of 200 families in a unit will cost about Rs. 10 lakhs. There are about 2 lakhs of these 'A' category tribes and it would be a time-taking affair to resettle all of them. However to start with, a programme has been drawn up to resettle 200 families during the Third Plan period at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. Future programmes mostly depend on the successful implementation of the present one. A Special Officer (Class I) has been appointed to plan, organise and execute the special scheme.

Poultry and Piggery Schemes have also been given importance for the supply of improved variety of pigs and poultry birds to the tribal people. A special poultry farm and a piggery farm has been started at Chipilima. In the piggery farm, goat rearing and breeding will also be taken up.

In the Central Sector, opening of Tribal Development Blocks has been taken up as the most comprehensive major scheme. In 1956, Orissa was allotted 4 S. M. P. Blocks, now renamed as Tribal Development Blocks, for the Second Plan and these were started at Narayanpatna, Kashipur

Ranuan and Telkol. During the end of Second Plan, a committee was set up under the Chairmanship of late Dr. Verrier Elwin to review the working of these Tribal Development Blocks and to give suggestions for their future programme. The committee recommended for opening more Tribal Development Blocks to cover all areas of tribal concentration with at least 55 per cent of tribal population. On this basis it was first agreed at the time of Third Plan discussion at Delhi to allot 100 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5,24 lakhs was recommended. But the Home Ministry later on fixed the percentage of tribal population at 66 2/3 per cent for Tribal Development Blocks and allotted 57 Blocks with a financial allocation of Rs. 3,09.18 lakhs. Subsequently 5 more Tribal Development Blocks have been allotted bringing the total number to 62. The four S. M. P. Blocks of the Second Plan are continuing in stage-II and out of 62 Tribal Development Blocks, 6 were opened in 1961-62, 6 in 1962-63, 12 in 1963-64. There is proposal to open one more in 1963-64 at Narayanpatna-III in Koraput, which Government of India recently agreed to. During 1964-65 16 Tribal Development Blocks will be opened and the balance in 1965-66. Proposals for opening as many Tribal Development Blocks as possible with a minimum tribal population of 50 per cent have been furnished to the Government of India.

Another important scheme in this Sector under the economic group is opening of Forest Co-operative Societies and other Co-operatives. This scheme has been introduced with a view to check exploitation of the

tribals and to make use of their forest produce by marketing the articles through these societies. This scheme has been successful to a certain extent and so various co-operative societies are being established during Third Plan. By the end of Second Plan 25 Forest Co-operatives were opened in the State. During 1961-62, the first year of the Third Plan 8 Forest Co-operative Societies were started. During 1962-63, 7 Forest Labour Contract Co-operatives, 3 Tassar Co-operatives and one non-Edible Oil-seeds Co-operative Society were opened. During 1963-64, funds have been sanctioned for an Apex Society for Tassar, Cocoons, one Lift Irrigation Co-operative Society, four Co-operative Farming Societies, two Purchase and Sale Centres and 3 Labour Contract Co-operatives, 2 Forest Marketing Co-operative Societies. In the fourth year of the Third Plan it has been proposed to start one Apex Society for minor forest produces in Koraput district and to organise five Purchase and Sales Centres. Further programmes would be drawn up later on the availability of funds.

#### Health Housing and other Schemes

Under the health programme opening of Mobile Health Units has been given importance. By the end of Second Plan 3 units have been functioning in the State, 9 units are to be opened during the Third Plan. During 1961-62, 3 Mobile Health Units were opened and in 1963-64, 3 more have been opened. It has been proposed to open the other 3 units in 1964-65. For want of medical technical staff and doctors, these units are being run with great difficulty.

Very often medical staff are not inclined to work in tribal areas. However, steps are being taken to give special incentives like compensatory allowance, special agency allowance, etc., to induce the medical staff to serve in the tribal areas under this scheme.

Provision of housing facilities for Scheduled Tribes and for Scheduled Castes (sweepers and scavengers) and house sites for Scheduled Castes engaged in unclean occupation has been beneficial to these people. By the end of Second Plan 7,212 units of houses were constructed for Scheduled Tribes and 3,388 units of houses for the Scheduled Castes. In the Third Plan there is a provision of Rs. 8 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes housing in the State Sector, 315 units of houses have been constructed during the first two years of the plan. During 1964-65, 200 units of houses will be constructed and in 1965-66, 300 units of houses are to be constructed. For housing the sweepers, Municipalities, Notified Area Councils and other local bodies are generally given funds and the subsidy house sites are also allotted to these institutions to utilise funds in the best possible way. Since the cost of building a good type of house for the sweepers is a little higher, say about Rs. 1,500 the Municipalities and Notified Area Councils are to supplement funds from their own as Government of India have agreed for a sum of Rs. 1,250 per unit of house. By the end of 1962-63 a sum of Rs. 11.43 lakhs have been utilised for this purpose and 1,495 sweepers families have got the benefit. During 1963-64, about 500 families were

benefited for which a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs has been sanctioned. During 1964-65, 100 units of houses would be provided to the sweepers' families in the local bodies. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 18.26 lakhs would have been utilised under the sweeper housing and house sites scheme benefiting about 2,330 families.

Lastly drinking water facilities in the rural and tribal areas is an urgent need. Drinking water facilities are provided by sinking wells, and wherever necessary tanks are also excavated. By the end of Second

Plan 4,669 wells were sunk for Scheduled Tribes and 923 wells for Scheduled Castes. During the first two years of Third Plan 645 wells have been sunk. During 1963-64, a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs has been sanctioned for sinking 333 wells. In the remaining two years about 1,250 wells are being proposed to be sunk in the hilly and water-scarcity areas where mostly 'A' category Scheduled Tribes live.

The targets and achievements of certain important schemes are given below :—

Name of the scheme	Achievement at the end of Second Plan	Achievement during 1st two years of Third Plan	Anticipatory achievements in the third year	Target fixed for fourth year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>STATE SECTOR</b>				
<i>Scheduled Tribes—</i>				
(1) Ashram Schools	76	3	2	7
(2) Hostels	95	78	1	135
(3) Pre-matric stipends	93,546	10,000	5,000	5,000
(4) Poultry rearing	61 unit	..	..	5 units
	1 special unit	..	..	..
	371 units	..	..	..
	2 special units	..	..	..
(5) Grainkola	834	192	..	20
(6) Drinking water-supply	4,469 wells	395	200	250
(7) Rural communication	4,211 miles	148	133	100
(8) Mobile Health unit	5	3	3	3
<i>Scheduled Castes—</i>				
(1) Pre-matric stipends	53,103	10,000	5,000	5,500
(2) Hostels	42	87	17	21
(3) Drinking water-supply	925	250	3	200

Name of the scheme	Achievement at the end of Second Plan	Achieve- ment during first two years of Third Plan	Anticipa- tory achieve- ments in the third year	Target fixed for fourth year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>CENTRAL SECTOR</b>				
<b>Scheduled Tribes—</b>				
(1) T. D. Blocks	4	12	13	16
(2) Forest Co-operative, etc.	25	19	11	8
(3) Post-matric Scholarships	412	568	350	350
<b>Scheduled Castes—</b>				
(1) Sweeper housing and Home-sites for Sched- uled Castes engaged in unclean occupation.	..	1,485	500	200
(2) Post-matric Scholarships	480	642	400	400
<b>Denotified Tribe—</b>				
(1) Residential Schools	..	2	..	1

We have accepted the principle of equality and it has become the fundamental right of the citizen in the Indian Republic. Ours is not, however, a neutral or abstract type of equality. We do not simply enunciate the principle and provide a legal framework for the removal of the impediments against equality. Our aim is not simply to provide equal opportunities for all and watch the process. Ours is an active and constructive type of equality wherein the State actively intervenes in favour of the comparatively weaker sections of the society and emphasis is given on the positive rather than the negative aspects egalitarianism.

India is a country where the range of social and economic living of the people is so high that it has justly been called the storehouse of cultural heterogeneity. Here we find the extremely primitive tribes, wholly dependent on the bounty of nature in a subsistence economy and living their traditional life untouched by the outside world, on the one hand, and on the other we find people engaged in scientific research and industrial production, equipped with the latest techniques of science and technology and vitally sensitive to world forces.

Stretched between them is perhaps the entire range of human history from palaeolithic times to the nuclear age. A common denominator of progress for all of them would be simply absurd and equal opportunities, under such uneven conditions would mean perpetuation of inequality. The Condi-

tion of India has, therefore, enjoined upon the State, through its Directive Principles of the State Policy to offer special opportunities to the weaker and underdeveloped sections of the Indian Nation and make special efforts for their welfare and progress. This policy, which has been so faithfully implemented through all the Five-Year Plans, is no where so clearly defined as in the case of tribal welfare.

There are two basic implications of this policy. The first implication is that due to their extreme economic backwardness, there has been comparatively higher provision for the tribal people in all the three plans. Like any other people the tribal people are entitled for the benefit of planned development but in addition to it they receive special treatment from the State, especially with respect to economic and educational programmes. The orthodox economic principle of "investment for higher returns" has been ruled out in this case. For the huge "investments" in this sphere, the "return" aimed at has been the all-round progress of the tribal people. This aspect of the policy is too clear to require further elucidation.

The second implication of this policy is in a sphere which is more delicate and which is yet struggling to take a shape. The tribal people are not only economically backward, they are also culturally different. They have a different set of values, different social ethos and the ideas of planned progress, which are so familiar to us and which we so naturally

take for granted, have perhaps not the same meaning for them. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the tribes and to translate our ideal of planned progress in terms of their society and their culture. This realisation has led to the launching of research programmes as an integrated part of tribal welfare.

Research on tribal society and culture, has unfortunately been haunted by certain stereotypes of pseudo-scientific origin. One of these is the lopsided emphasis on the conservatism of the tribal people. A school of thought has developed which has endowed all types tribal activities with mysterious attributes and considers them as essential for the existence of the people. This has led to a belief that the tribal should be "preserved" in their pristine purity and this belief has been the greatest impediment for the gearing of social sciences towards change and progress. However, social scientists are gradually becoming alive to the fact that the tribal people have an immense capacity for changing themselves.

A hill Bondo who attends a school or a Langja Saora who attends a hospital disregarding the highly ritualized practices of the witch doctor of his society, jumps over centuries at one stroke and his break with tradition is more drastic than our own society. The social scientists are gradually realising that the real problem is the rapidity of change and not the conservatism of the tribes. This change, because it is rapid and drastic, needs to be properly planned and scientifically guided. The impact of unplanned change which in the past has completely exterminated many vital and virile tribes like the Andaman Islanders and Tasmanians, should peep us to apply our minds to the problem.

One of the main defects in our understanding of tribal people has been our inability to locate what is of universal

value in their culture. In the past, people with a superior military organization, but inferior in every other respect, have been able to dominate over people who had a much better way of living. Today technology has gradually taken the place of military organization though both are incomparably different. Our society, which by virtue of its superior technology, is dominant over the tribal society has not been able to appreciate the latter's virtues which it lacks. And it is because we have not been able to receive what is best in them, we have not been able to give what is best in us. It should be one of the aims of research to chalk out a scheme of give and take to the mutual benefit of both, thus ultimately working out a process of healthy integration.

Though the tribal people lack in modern technology, they have a social organization which is superior to others. This organization is so effective that from birth to death each individual has the blessings of community living. Among certain primitive tribes, a man may visit places where he had never been before, yet he would find his kin among people whom he does not know. This contrasts strongly with the other society, where relationships are gradually becoming commercialized and where the next door neighbour remains a stranger. Finding out the essence of tribal social organization and adopting it to the modern society is a task which is much more difficult than making the tribal people to adopt modern technology. Research in this direction is yet to make a beginning.

The problems, therefore, which face Tribal Welfare and Research are not problems confined to their respective spheres. They are the problems of the entire nation and a challenge to our principle of equality. We have to meet this challenge if we are to survive as a nation.



### *What is dance ?*

Dance is the overt expression of emotional energy by means of systematised muscular movement. There are certain emotional experiences which transcend the normal modes of expression. The purpose of dance is to give symbolical expression to these experiences.

### *Two broad varieties*

Dance may be performed for the sake of its effect upon the dancer himself or for the sake of its effect upon the onlooker. In the former case it functions as a form of auto-intoxication. The dancer does not always consciously employ his movements to achieve this objective, mostly it comes as an incidental result. The purposes in this type of dance may be divided roughly into simple play, sex stimulation, the production of religious or other ecstasy and escape from emotional stress. Tribal dance belongs to this category.

### *Role of Dance in Primitive Societies*

In primitive society dancing is integrally connected with every phase of activity. The advance of civilization

has so largely displaced the necessity for dancing as a form of self-expression and auto-intoxication that we have to turn to primitive societies to discover its real value. Among primitive men the ascription of super-naturality to the phenomena of nature gave rise to the celebrations of every event of significance in the life cycle of the individual and of the group as an affairs of ritual as well as of social movement. These celebrations were frequently accompanied by the ritual of protection or dedication as well as by ceremonies of purely tribal significance and personal expressions of joy or grief. That these rites should have found form in dances is entirely logical, for even the most natural movements, when backed by intense feeling, assume larger dimensions and stronger stresses and, as the outgrowth of a particular purpose instead of merely generic excitement, slip naturally into rhythm and form.

In all primitive dances music of some sort is an inseparable feature. It is employed by the dancers themselves, either in the form of clinking ornaments or of clapping and stamping to accent the rhythm of the movements.

Frequently singing is added to intensify the expression of feeling or even to tell a story. These and other methods are employed also by the onlookers as a vicarious participation in the dance. In its natural form this music is essentially rhythmic and non-melodic.

#### *Tribal Dance Is Composite In Nature*

It is difficult to make any narrow divisions in the dances between those which are religious and those which are social and occupational, for the lines are apparently loosely drawn in the minds of the men themselves. Their chief concerns are the problems of maintenance and increase, and these prompted their dances as well. Agriculture occupies a large share of their attention and makes a basis for the mimetic dances of daily activity which are a popular source of entertainment. But the mystery of growing things involves magic and religion, and agricultural fertility relates itself, at once to sex. It is equally a problem to separate those dances which affect the individual from those that affect the group, for there is an inevitable effect upon the individual even in a dance which is chiefly of group concern, and those dances which deal with the individual bear directly upon the life of the group as well. Thus in celebrations of birth, healing, puberty, circumcision, marriage and death the participation is simultaneous movements for a common purpose by others, than those immediately concerned, tends to establish solidarity. Some dances, largely processional in nature, have as their specific object the parading of strength and the establishment of respect for authority; but even in those designed for other ends, the unification of the group

is made habitual in the mind of its members by communal dancing. The dancing of primitive men is by no means confined to special occasions. It constitutes the major part of his recreation. Whether even the purely pastime dances can be separated from ritual significance, however, is a question; for the life of the savage is not divided into clearly defined periods of labour and of play but is more unified, with everything related to the two problems of nature; maintenance and increase.

#### **Different Types of Dances among Primitive Tribes**

##### *Dance and Labour Activities*

One of the most universal types of dancing with group significance among primitive peoples is that which accompanies labour activities requiring unity of action. The practice of working to rhythmic beating or chanting in order to achieve greater unity and efficiency of movements has been very general through the centuries and is widely prevalent at the present time.

##### *Dance and Warfare*

The dance serves a similar practical purpose in matters of warfare. War dances not only constitute a popular form of entertainment but serve at the same time to crystallize group solidarity and, in the absence of formal military organization, to provide training and drill for actual fighting. In the time of a campaign their major function is to stimulate the warriors to a high pitch of courage and excitement, in which the fear of death is made to disappear from consciousness as far as possible. Here, however, as

in so many other cases, there is also the admixture of a strong element of religion or magic.

Such dances as those just mentioned, in which magic is invoked to destroy antagonists, are also employed against less tangible forces of opposition such as drought, barrenness and pestilence. Frequently such dances as these take the form rather of processions than of dances in the stricter sense of the word.

### *Magical Dances*

In general, these dances are mimetic in character, for it is a cardinal principle of ancient magic that imitation has a supernatural power. The enactment of a situation in mimicry is believed to have the power to bring that situation into being. Evidences of this are found in a great number of dances of different sorts. In agricultural dances the rain and the sun are invoked mimetically, and phallic symbols are carried in processions and dances to insure fertility. It is also a practice in hunting dances to affect the prospective prey by imitating its movements. Similarly mimetic dances are performed before or around the totem to promote the propagation and welfare of the species.

The faith of the tribal in these dances to propitiate angry deities or to destroy hostile men or influences probably arose from his realization of the effect of dancing upon himself and his observation of its effects on others. The question of distance from the objects to be affected did not enter into his consideration for the whole process lay in the realm of the unknown and mysterious.

### *Dances connected with Death*

It is natural that death should be surrounded by elaborated rites and dances. Among primitive men funeral dances are generally performed for the welfare of the departed spirit and for the protection of the survivors from evil influences. Many of the ceremonials are mimetic and were intended to influence the dead by sympathetic magic. Sometimes the dead man's outstanding accomplishments were reenacted for the benefit of the survivors and pantomimic fights and rope pullings are performed over his grave. The return of the spirit is a possibility greatly feared, and consequently every precaution is taken to prevent it.

### *Dance and Marriage*

Marriage is a cause for much dancing of a different character, largely concerning itself with sex practices and fertility. There are also dances of welcome to visitors, celebrations of peace, of the change of season and of numberless other events.

### *Pastime Dances*

Pastime dances are largely mimetic and except for those which are designed for sexual stimulation usually recount past experiences or look forward to future ones in battle, the hunt or other daily practices. Among warlike peoples the war dance is the chief amusement. The Dahomians almost invariably introduce a representation. The routine occupations, whatever they may be, are the basis for pantomime dances. The primitive man seems to take a special delight also in animal dances of as great accuracy as

possible. Those dances which deal with more personal problems provide an emotional release not only for the dancer but, through kinaesthetic sympathy, for the onlooker as well and are the root of both the art dance and the drama.

#### *Religious Dances*

Among activities designed primarily to stimulate rather than release energy may be cited the production of frenzy which has made dancing a part of the practice of many religious sects and their votaries. Priests and prophets of many tribes dance themselves into delirium in order to induce possession by their particular deities, and in these states of frenzy deliver their oracles. Frequently the ability to accomplish this type of ecstasy has been the test of priest-hood.

#### *Courtship Dances*

Courtship dances are undoubtedly motivated by sex and are an almost universal practice. The function of the dance in these cases is not only to give expression to sexual impulses but also to excite them, both in the dancer and in the onlooker. Dancing as a means of sexual selection was recognized and consequently both attacked and defended down through the Middle Ages and even into modern times.

#### *Is Tribal Dance Obscene?*

Much has been written on the obscenity of primitive dancing and it has even been said that it is primarily sexual in intent. Evidence from many parts of the world does not bear this out. To a certain extent all dancing

is sexually stimulating, but, except in courtship dances, this stimulus may be regarded as a by-product. Most often the movements seem to be artistic renderings of spontaneous actions, resulting from some emotional state.

#### *Dance and Group*

As a rule a dance is performed by a group or groups of people all of whom move in the same way. Solo dances are rare, though not infrequently there is a dance leader who has a special part to play. All the able-bodied adults of the community are expected to take part. Usually the sexes are segregated, though this is by no means universal, but the close embrace customary in European, round dances, is seldom countenanced. Sometimes certain dances are restricted to one sex.

#### *Tribal Dance and Civilization*

In the dancing of primitive society are to be found all the elements of the dance, and civilization has only modified them without adding anything basic. Because it is the most elementary medium for the expression of the perception of life, it is natural that it has declined in social importance with the growth of more intellectual means of expression. As a matter of fact its history is the history of this decline in every direction except that of art. The survivals, however are numerous even in contemporary practice. Especially in religion has the dance retained its place to a large extent. This is true in both eastern and western religions except those which have grown out of the Reformation.

#### *Brief Notes on Tribal Dances of Orissa*

All the primitive tribes of Orissa have their specific patterns of dancing,

Dancing has considerably deteriorated among the tribes who have come into close contact with outsiders, such as the Gonds of Sambalpur and Sundargarh, the Kandhs of Cuttack and Puri and the plain Juangs of Dhankanal.

Brief notes on the dances of some of the most important primitive tribes of Orissa are given below:—

#### *Gond*

Among the Gonds of Koraput dance is practiced throughout the year. Besides this, dances are performed on special communal occasions like marriage. The boys dress themselves with colourful coats and turbans during the dance. The turbans are adorned with 'cowrie' shells and the coats are adorned with small pieces of mirror. The girls are dressed in handwoven saris and silver ornaments.

A dancing group is ordinarily formed with 20 to 30 persons of both sexes. Only unmarried boys and girls participate in the dance. The musical instruments are played on by boys. Two boys lead the dance with wooden drums. The girls dance in circles with simple steps of one and two, very often bending their bodies forward. The stepplings of the boys are more varied and complicated.

#### *Koya*

Dance among the Koyas is richly varied and complicated. The most important occasion for dancing is the worship of the mother goddess in the month of Chaitra. Ordinarily both boys and girls participate in dancing but the girls are more conspicuous. However in this festival only girls participate.

During the dance, the girls keep rhythm by beating sticks on the ground, which are fitted with small bells. Dance groups are formed with about 30 to 50 persons. The most conspicuous movement about Koya dance is the complicated winding and unwinding of circles formed by girls.

#### *Gadaba*

Gadaba dancing is performed by women who wear the famous 'Keranga' saris and have their distinctive hair style. The men play the musical instruments. Chaitra and Pausa are the dancing seasons.

The Gadaba women dance in semi-circles with steps of three and four which they gradually change to eight. The body is often bent forward. Very skillful moves are made on the heels.

#### *Kandh*

The Kandh dances are mostly confined to unmarried boys and girls and free mixing of the sexes are allowed during dances. The dances are performed especially when the boys or girls of one village visit another village. Dance forms an item in the daily routine of the Kandh, when the boys and girls in their dormitories meet after the day's toil.

No instrument is played upon during the dance of the Kandhs of Koraput. The girls dance in lines and the boys dance in behind and in front of them. The dance of the Phulhani Kandhs is more colourful. The girls wear saris in two pieces and bangles on their ankles. They dance in rows, facing rows of boys who sing songs and play on handdrums. The songs play a very important part in

the dance. Special dances are performed during buffalo sacrifice.

These brief notes are given to convey a general idea about tribal dance. It is not proposed to give a graphic picture of the tribal dances of Orissa which may be the subject-matter of further study and research. These notes are only meant to provide a background for such study.

### **Suggestion**

As has been indicated above tribal dances are mostly not meant for exhibition but for social participation and auto-intoxication. Therefore, the best method of their preservation and propagation is to adopt it as a common mode of recreation by the boys and

girls in schools and colleges just like sports and other recreational activities. The attitude of the educational authorities towards dance and music should undergo a radical transformation to make this possible.

There should be considerable theoretical research on tribal dance. This research should not be confined to the dance forms alone but should cover an wider area touching sociological and psychological aspects. Research fellowships should be created in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology for this purpose.

Centres of training should be established with experienced tribal dancers and expert dancing teachers to impart training in tribal dance.

case, the Doms raped a Kondh girl from a local fair. A few of her relatives tried to save her, but the Doms threatened them with stealing away latter's possessions. They raped her, seduced her and snatched away all her gold ornaments.

(v) Bribes and fines are also paid to the Government people of Forest

Department for cultivating patches of land in reserve forests, to police people for distilling liquor and occasionally to school teachers and to Sarpanches.

The following table gives a quantitative picture of the 86 cases of exploitation.

TABLE I

*Table showing various types of exploitation of the Kondhs by Governmental and non-Governmental agencies*

No.	Types of exploitation	No. of cases	Percentage
1	Stealing and forcibly taking away crops, cattle and other valuables.	45	52.3
2	Cheating by Forest Department and by the Police people.	15	17.4
3	Cheating in barter and business	14	16.3
4	Land encroachment	9	10.5
5	Exploitation by Mining people	2	2.3
6	Rape and seduction	1	1.2
Total		86	

Deducting seventeen cases (serial Nos. 2 and 5) of exploitation by Government agencies it is seen that the rest sixty-nine cases are done by the Doms. To put it in more concrete terms, about 20 per cent of the exploitation cases are related to Governmental agencies, while in 80 per cent cases the Doms are found to be the culprits. More than half of the

cases (52.3 per cent) are of "highway robbery" type, while the frequency of rape cases is very negligible, i.e., 1.2 per cent.

#### *Dom Exploitation*

In both Laximpur and Kumbhiketa areas, Doms were found to be the chief exploiters. The people around Laximpur are a little advanced having

come in contact with the modern people, and they are not easily cheated by Doms. On the other extreme the Kondhs inhabiting rocky terrains in Kumbhikota areas are more liable to fall a prey to exploitations. Kumbhikota, a village with Dom families numbering more than sixty is the centre of such exploitations. The Doms of this village not only exploit the Kondhs of their own village, but extend their grip to the neighbouring villages. The villages around Kumbhikota constitute the areas of their operation and they pay frequent trips to such villages for stealing cattle and other things. Various kinds of Dom exploitation are described in the following pages.

(1) *Land Encroachment*—A wide gulf of difference is noticed between the amount of land the Kondhs own in the settlement records and their actual land holdings at present. In settlement records some Kondhs are found to possess more than twenty acres of land, and they are also paying land revenue accordingly, every year. But personal interview reveals the fact that most of their best plots of land have been taken away by Dom Sahukars on mortgage, by force, or by any other unfair means. In some cases, the Doms have bribed the settlement people and made the records in their name, but in most cases the transfer land is an oral affair, i.e., a verbal contract between the owner of the land and the Sahukar. The land of the Kondhs are transferred to the ownership of the Doms in the following ways.

(a) When a Kondh borrows money from a Dom, the latter lends him money

with the contract that the Kondh has to pay the loan in terms of grains in the next harvest. The interest for such loans is almost cent per cent. In case, the crop fails in the ensuing year and the debtor fails to pay off his loans, the Sahukar extorts more crops with multiple interest towards his principal.

In the long run, the loan increases to such a heavy amount that the Kondh is forced to surrender some of his paddy plots to the Sahukar on mortgage for ten to twenty years. The Sahukar takes a thumb impression from the Kondh in a handnote in which he befools the Kondh by increasing the amount of loan actually advanced and by lengthening the actual period of mortgage. Being illiterate the Kondh cannot know the treachery played by the Dom and he gives his thumb impression believing in the latter's honesty.

(b) Money and crops are also lent to the Kondhs on the condition of land mortgage. To meet the expenses of important life crises a Kondh is often forced to give one of his plots on mortgage for money or crops.

(c) Under acute hardships, a Kondh may find no way out except selling a piece of his land.

(d) A Kondh is at times provided with liquor by a Dom on ceremonial occasions and when the former is heavily drunk, the Dom takes a thumb impression from him regarding selling out some land on false pretext.

(e) The land of a Kondh who dies without leaving any successor is often claimed by a Dom to be his land on the pretext that the deceased incurred



heavy loans of money from him and had mortgaged the land towards the loans. In such cases, the Dom shows false documents and cheats the relatives of the deceased.

(2) *Dealing in Barter and Marketing*—(a) Kondhs are not experts in marketing. Whenever a Kondh wants to sell his cattle he takes the help of a Dom who goes to the market, sells the cattle on the farmers' behalf and pays him the money. In some cases, the Doms may sell the cattle but do not care to pay the money to Kondhs in spite of the latter's frequent begging.

(b) A Dom may force a Kondh to give away his big bullock or buffalo in exchange for a small one. If the Kondh denies the Dom may threaten him of stealing away his cattle.

(c) After the harvest, the Doms visit Kondh villages with clothes and utensils for sale. They charge high prices for the things and take crops in big measures. Dom ladies also wander from village to village with dried-fish, molasse and other eatables and sell these things for crops.

(3) *Demanding Crops after Harvest*—At the harvesting season, groups of Doms numbering ten to twenty move to the threshing-floor of the Kondhs and demand a major share of the harvest. They do not get satisfied with the amount given to them by the Kondhs on their own accord and always crave for bigger shares. If a Kondh declines to give so much of crop the Doms may threaten him to steal his possessions. It is really a pitiable scene to see how a Kondh feels miserable amidst a group of Doms who demand more than half of his harvest.

(4) *Stealing crops, cattle and other valuables*—Very often, cattle are stolen from the Kondhs' cowsheds or are found missing in the forest. A little inquiry of the matter reveals that the Doms steal cattle and sell them in distant market places or slaughter for meat in the forest. Remains of meat, blood-stains on the earth, charred bone pieces of the slaughtered animal and ashes of the cooking fire are traced in secluded parts of the forest indicating the feasting ground of the Doms.

Cattle are also stolen away after giving prior notice to the owners. The Doms may demand some money, crops or a cow from a Kondh as gift. If the Kondh refuses to give anything the Doms threaten him and steal his cattle.

(5) *"Highway Robbery"*—The Doms are also not afraid of forcibly taking away things from Kondhs in broad day light. A Dom may ask for a cow or bullock from a Kondh and any refusal to this results in taking away the cattle from the Kondh's cowshed, by force. Similarly, failing to persuade a Kondh to give paddy or other grains, a Dom might break into his house and bring whatever crops the Kondh had stored.

(6) *Rape and Seduction*—A rape case collected during the investigation shows how a group of Doms raped a Kondh girl from her friends in a fair and plundered all her gold ornaments. The case was to the referred police-station, but in the meanwhile, the accused bribed the policeman. The policeman pleaded in favour of the Doms and threatened the girl's father for falsely accusing the Doms. The

girl's father sold one of his buffaloes and paid Rs. 100 and a chicken to the policemen.

The type of exploitation in Kumbhikota area is different from that in Laxmipur area. The tribals bordering Laxmipur are closer to educated people and are clever than those living in interior villages. Besides, there is a police-station in Laxmipur which puts some check to reckless exploitation. Hence, cases of stealing cattle and crops and forcibly taking away things from the tribals are extremely rare in this area. The chief type of exploitation here, is land encroachment by cunning tricks.

Acquiring the land of the tribals is not so common in Kumbhikota area where the tribals are mainly shifting cultivators and they have a few or no irrigated paddy plots to be mortgaged or sold. Hence, the "highway robbery" form of stealing things by force and threatening is the chief method of exploitation here.

#### *Methods applied for Exploiting Kondhs*

The Doms do not suddenly attack a village and plunder away the possessions like the robbers. Their method of exploiting the Kondhs is a gradual process rather than a momentary phase of attack. In the beginning the innocent and insignificant Kondhs of a village are attacked. Since they do not have any voice in the village, they cannot influence or command their neighbours for any help. Even if the neighbours see a villager being robbed by Doms they get frightened and apprehending such attacks in future on them they shut

their doors and keep inside. A few of them might oppose in mild tone of protest, but Doms pay no heed to it.

Besides keeping the insignificant persons in view as their target of attack, the Doms also try to please the important Kondhs of the village by providing them with liquor on ceremonial occasions. By giving liquor to create temporary faith and friendly relations the Doms may take thumb impressions from the Kondhs when they are in a state of drunkenness.

#### *Why Kondhs are the target of Exploitation*

Why Kondhs are the only targets for Doms exploitation requires a little knowledge of their personality structure. Simplicity of character, inaccessibility of the tract they inhabit, and their illiteracy make them docile and timid. Occupying the innermost parts of hills and forests, the Kondhs lead a life of their own which is free from complications of modern life. Since they do not come in frequent contact with the modern people, they have developed a strange fear towards them. Doms are the only non-tribals with whom the Kondhs generally live. The latter are believed to retain much power and authority by virtue of which they can command the Kondhs to obey them. Such feeling has been so deep rooted in the mind of the Kondhs from the time of the Raja's reign that it is difficult to root it out. The Rajas invested the power on Doms to collect taxes from the Kondhs. In the days of British rule the converted Doms were getting ample support from the missionaries to defend themselves in spite of various

nuisances committed by them. All these led to create a state of mind in the Kondh who developed a morbid fear towards the Doms.

The Kondhs are honest and truthful. They rarely doubt the activities of the Doms in spite of the latter's treachery. They never make attempts to do positive harm to anybody even if they are provoked to do so. They are truthful in the sense that they do not tell lies and thereby make any attempt to falsify the truth of a situation. The Doms, on the other hand, are very crooked. From their very childhood, the Dom boys are taught by their parents to live upon the fruits of others' labour. In a village one can find a Dom boy beating a group of Kondh children, but the latter having no courage to defend themselves. The Doms apprehend the danger of the spread of education among Kondh children. They thus give misleading ideas about modern education and persuade the Kondhs not to send their children to schools.

The Kondhs have been the constant sufferers and have lost their courage of protesting against the capricious whims of the Doms. When a Kondh's cattle or crops are plundered by a Dom his neighbours do not like to protest and pick up quarrels with the Dom, as it would irritate him and tempt him to repeat the work again in future.

They also do not run the risk of their life to fight with the Doms, who do not hesitate to go to the extent of murdering their rivals.

### *Remedies*

As evident from the above descriptions, it is not an easy matter to save the Kondhs from the dangers they are facing in their daily life. To free them from various exploitations sincere and prolonged attempts by honest workers are necessary. Education should be given supreme importance, because unless the Kondhs get education and unless they realize their own problems it is very difficult to awaken them. It is sure that when they get educated they can better understand their difficulties and find out means to eradicate these by their own efforts.

In order to put a check to the various Dom exploitations drastic steps should be undertaken to punish the *song side* Dom culprits. They should be settled in separate colonies and kept under constant watching and supervision. An honest and sincere man should be employed to supervise the various activities of these Doms.

Immediate measures should be undertaken to raise the poor economic standard of the Kondhs. Indebtedness is a clog for their development. They inhabit the rocky mountain areas and live hand to mouth, depending mainly on shifting cultivation. They have few or no patches of irrigated paddy plots situated near the stream beds, but a good number of such plots have been tactfully captured by the clever non-tribals. Shifting cultivation, the primary method of their agriculture, is not only a tedious affair, but is the most unreliable as the harvest depends on timely rain and other favourable climatic conditions.

Constant crop failures or the scanty crops harvested from shifting cultivation hardly feed a Kondh for the whole year. Besides, a Kondh may require a lump sum of money and crops for marriage. To meet these demands he has to incur heavy loans and thereby run into indebtedness. Indebtedness consequently opens door for exploitation in forms of land encroachment, losing cattle and crops and engaging in Govt work, etc. To put a check to these problems immediate steps should be undertaken to bring back the lost land of the Kondhs from the ownership of the non-tribals. Loans of money, paddy and other grains may be advanced to the Kondhs through the Grama Panchayats at

moderate rates of interest, to save them from paying unlimited amount to the local lenders. It is important to note that most of the Panchayat people are non-tribals and they deliberately make delay in giving loan to the tribals, as this conflicts with their own interest. Strict steps should be undertaken to eradicate evils, from this level, and the Government may lend money or crops to the tribals by keeping their land in mortgage.

This matter should be given foremost consideration, because unless the Kondhs stand on a good economic footing and unless they are able to feed and clothe themselves properly it is very difficult to save them from exploitation.

**DORIPUR—A MAGICO-  
RELIGIOUS CEREMONY FOR  
CURING FEVER AMONG  
THE HILL SAORAS**

The hill Saoras who are commonly known as Lanja Saoras and also Mela Saoras, constitute the most primitive section of the great Sora Tribe in Orissa. They are widely distributed in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput districts. In spite of sustained activities of the Christian missionaries during the last forty years or so, attempts of the Government to provide special provisions for their upliftment and occasional migrations as labourer in tea-gardens in Assam, the hill Saoras have remained in a very primitive condition far away from the touch of modern civilisation. Only a few of them have been converted to Christianity. The rest have retained their customs and practices intact. They speak a dialect belonging to the Mundari family of the Austro-asiatic languages and very few can speak any other language.

They are primarily shifting cultivators, although, wet cultivation is also resorted to in terraced fields whenever available. The hilly forests provide them with varieties of edible roots, fruits and animals for hunting

to supplement their dietary requirements. Liquor is obtained from the mohua and sago-palm trees. The petty traders belonging to Dorn community visit the Sora villages with the articles of daily use for barter.

Like many other primitive tribes they attribute the causes of natural calamities, diseases and unnatural deaths to the deities, dead ancestors and sorcery. The deities and the dead ancestors, who are supposed to be in search of food and drink in the underworld are watchful about the negligence and wrong-doings of the people and bring about diseases and other troubles. Thus diseases are believed to be caused spiritually and are treated spiritually according to established procedure of diagnosis and sacrifice. The ceremony of "Doripur" described here is one of the magico-religious rites for curing fever. In the month of April 1963, this ceremony was celebrated in the village Jangjantal of Gumma Panchayat Samiti in Ganjam district. It is a typical Sora village surrounded by hills on all sides. There are altogether twenty families out of which seven families are Christian converts since 1959.

### Diagnosis

Suku Mandal of the village has two wives who are the sisters of a co-villager, Upi Saora by name. He has five children through them. Both the wives and all the children were suffering from fever one after another. On two previous occasions Suku had consulted the village shaman and sacrificed a fowl and a pig to Dorisusum (the god of the cattle graziers who brings fever to the people). Lastly the youngest son of the junior wife suffered severely. This necessitated diagnosis by a shaman. On the ninth day of April 1963, the first wife requested the village shaman to diagnose the cause of the sickness. The shaman expressing his anxiety, acquired very seriously and sympathetically about the ailing persons and at once sat down for diagnosis with the help of a winnowing fan and the rice brought by Suku's wife. A wick was lighted. The shaman holding the wick in his left hand, rubbed rice grains round and round with incantations to invoke the deities, ancestors and his tutelary to locate the agent of sickness and to determine the sacrifices required. Being possessed by his tutelary, his hand got stuck to the winnowing-fan and Suku's wife had to apply much strength to detach it. Then the shaman became the vehicle of his tutelary and informed her that Dorisusum was responsible for the sickness. When enquired about the remedy, he readily prescribed the ceremonial sacrifice of a buffalo.

### Ceremony

Suku at once arranged all the articles required for the rite. He consulted the Gamang (the secular head of the

village) and village elders and decided to perform the ceremony on the 15th April, 1963.

*Rite in the Courtyard*—At about 8 A. M., the ceremony was started in front of Suku's house. A new earthen pot containing rice, salt, onion and chilli; a winnowing-fan containing three basketful of rice (about two kg.) a brass, a ring, a bow with arrows, a leaf-cup filled up with medicinal bullets and a leaf hat were placed on the ground and two bamboo splits were placed in front of Suku's ailing wives and children who were sitting in a row facing the shaman. Eight leaf cups were then prepared and spread on the ground by the shaman.

The commencement of the ceremony was then marked by the beating of the drum by Suku and recital of incantation and offering of wine in the leaf cups by the shaman to deities and ancestors. Then he threw rice in four directions and upon the patients. A wick was lighted. He put on the leaf hat, picked up the bow and arrow while calling the dead and deities began to dance to the accompaniment of beating of the drum. He picked up the 'bullets' one by one on the tip of his arrow, shot them in four directions, then at the buffalo and also at each patient after heating them in the flame of the lamp. Then the shaman picked up the bamboo splits and heated them in the flame of the wick. While dancing he invoked Turkadora (servant or Dorisusum) to accept the 'combs' as his presentation. He combed the head of each patient for three times. Then holding the earthen pot containing chilli, rice, salt and onion, he called on Dorisusum saying:

"I am offering you rice, salt, chilli, etc. and going to sacrifice a buffalo to you. You take these and prepare your meal near a water source."

Then he moved the pot over the head of each patient with a prayer for their recovery.

*Rite inside the House*—After the conclusion of the rites in the courtyard, the shaman conducted another rite inside the house. Two leaf cups containing rice, another cup with chilli, salt and onion and a basketful of rice covered with a new cloth, were placed near the mortar. A wick was also lighted. In the meantime, the eldest son of Suku brought the hairy tip of the sacrificial buffalo's tail and handed it over to the shaman. The shaman then invoked the deities and offered wine to them. Reciting spells he singed the tail of the buffalo. He mixed the ashes with rice and threw them upon the sick persons. The venue of the ceremony was then shifted to the outskirts of the village.

*Rite the outskirts of the village*—At the entrance of the village, the shaman arranged his altar under a *Mohua* tree. Some women at a short distance were seen busy in preparing hearths and carrying water for cooking the feast, while several others sat down to stitch leaf-cups. Near the altar two women were engaged in cooking the food separately for the deities. Several young men gathered under another tree to kill the sacrificial animal, which was dragged to that place.

*Sacrifice of buffalo and distribution of meat*—Killing of buffalo by the *Saora* is a pathetic sight to new

visitors. The mode of killing which I saw in several villages revealed the *Saora's* knowledge in buffalo anatomy. With the blunt end of an axe a single blow was administered to the joint of the head and the vertebral column. The animal making pitiable noise crumpled down, and another person pierced the heart with a long thin knife to let out blood. Although the animal was still groaning under such torture, one person cut down the horns with an axe and others started skinning. When the skinning was over, the blood discharged from the heart was collected in a pot.

A cup of blood, a front leg and the head were handed over to the shaman, who placed these near the altar. Two legs and one-third of the lung, heart and liver were taken by the owner. A small quantity of flesh and the rest of the lung, heart and liver were given for preparing the food for the deities and deads. One leg, the entrails and some strips of flesh were given for feasting at the spot. The remaining quantity of the buffalo's meat was distributed equally among the families who contributed rice for the feast and participated in the ceremony.

*Preparation of Food*—Following items of food for the feast and for the worship were prepared separately:—

(a) Rice and millet mixed together were boiled in water to prepare a porridge.

(b) Flesh mixed with rice was boiled in water.

(c) Some portions of lung, liver and heart mixed with rice-flour were boiled with blood and water.

(d) Flesh being added with salt chilli and turmeric was boiled in water.

(e) Some portions of liver, lung and the heart were roasted in burning amber.

After cooking, there was the important task of cutting the boiled flesh into pieces for distribution.

*The Worship*—In the meantime, the shaman invoked the deities and the ancestors and offered wine and rice mixed with the blood of the buffalo. Then he himself began to beat the drum, slowly at first and then more rapidly and prayed the deities, especially to Dorisunum, to accept the food to bring health and happiness to the family and also to the village. While reciting spells he poured water on the head of each patient. Different items of cooked food were handed over to the shaman. After invoking the dead and the deities, he offered these items along with wine. After this he himself took wine and went on calling the ancestors and the deities and passed into a trance. He became possessed by a number of deities and dead ancestors. The long conversation, which took place between the audience on the one hand and the shaman acting as the vehicle of the unseen powers on the other is briefly noted below:—

Turkadora, the servant of Dorisunum came first and it was declared that he sucked the forehead, neck, back, hands, legs and great toes of each patient. The earthen pot containing rice, onion, chilli, salt and flesh of the buffalo was offered to him. He wanted his stick, which was at

once given. Holding the stick with his right hand and keeping the pot on the head, the shaman acted as if walking with these materials for Dorisunum, his master. Then he was possessed by another servant of Dorisunum and informed about the arrival of his master. He asked for water to drink and went away.

After this Dorisunum himself came and demanded "Why you first gave me a fowl and then a pig but not a buffalo at the first instance. Do you know that I was in need of buffalo for my cultivation. When you did not comply with my demand for a buffalo, I attacked most of the members of the family". To cool down his anger all persons sitting by his side flattered him, and offered wine with great care and devotion. Suku, the head of the family celebrating the rites, conveyed him the difficulties he had to undergo to get a buffalo on credit. When the buffalo was available, it was possible on his part to offer it to him. Dorisunum demanded cloth. When a cloth was handed over to him, he exclaimed "This is not a good cloth and you are giving me only one piece. What I will say when my daughter will ask for one? Take this back and get two nice pieces immediately." Suku immediately replied, "I have given you a nice cloth, but you considered it to be bad. Please be satisfied with it. If dissatisfied come with me to my home and select one".

Dorisunum said, "Very good, I am satisfied with it and let me wear it". The shaman representing Dorisunum, got up and put on the cloth and sat down and said to Suku, "You promise



to give another buffalo after he recovery of your wives and children", Saku replied, "Please help me to harvest a good crop so that I would be able to give one". Dorisunum asked for wine which was at once given and went away. There was silence and everybody had some palm wine.

Then the shaman was visited by a series of ghosts one after another. Some of these ghosts came to take wine and food, some made fresh demands for sacrifice, some of them warned their relatives about their negligence, carelessness and breach of taboo. Most of them were persuaded to depart after taking wine. At last came the ghost of Indam, the last Gamang of the village and father of the present Gamang. He was offered wine immediately. After tasting it he said "Oh, this palm wine is very bitter, I won't take it. Give me Mohua liquor". At once mohua-liquor was given to him. While drinking it he enquired about the welfare of the village. He asked why they had not made the clearing for the year. The Gamang who was sitting by his side, told how everything was going on well excepting a few people suffering from disease. He asked his son to look into the welfare of the village. After taking wine, he went away.

After this, the shaman rubbed his eyes as if waking from a heavy sleep. He stretched his arms and legs, spat on his hands and wiped his face and thus broke his trance and became normal. Once again, he sat down to invoke the deities and deads who were offered wine. He removed the ring worn by Saku's sick son and placed

it on the altar. While reciting incantations he sprinkled water over the patients. He then gave one share of offered food to each of the patients who were required to eat it there and then.

*Distribution of Food*—The different items of food prepared separately for offering, were distributed into a number of shares in leafcups. The Gamang, the Mandal (assistant to Gamang) and the Buyya as village officials received ten shares each. The shaman (who is also the Buyya of the village) received ten shares of cooked food and a leg of the buffalo. The owner who is also the Mandal of the village got ten shares extra and the head of the buffalo besides his share of flesh taken earlier. All families who contributed rice for the feast, received one share each. Then all who were present near the altar proceeded towards the cooking place to attend the feast. When the ceremonies were going on, several persons carefully distributed the festive meals into a number of leaf cups. In the presence of Gamang, the shares were distributed at the rate of one share for each member in the family. The rest were distributed among the persons present. Elderly persons got four shares each, while children were given only two shares each. The feast was concluded with drinking of wine at 2 P.M.

### Conclusion

The most acute problem faced by the Langia Sarcas, inhabiting the inhospitable Agency tracts, is disease. This has resulted in the development of an elaborate system of magico-

therapy. The consequent ceremonies bring heavy pressure on the Saora economy. This is the root cause of their indebtedness and conversion to Christianity. They cannot go to hospital to take medicine to cure diseases, because of their fear of offending

ancestors and deities. However, their constant contact with the converted Saoras, who visit hospital for treatment causes reaction in their minds. This provokes them to evade the indebtedness and misery by changing their faith.

Sanakania, a village in the district of Balasore, Orissa, is situated half a mile north of Laxman Nath Road Station (S.-E. Railway). It borders Orissa and West Bengal. It is a multi-caste village with a population of 347. The table furnished below shows the caste composition of the village:—

Name of the caste	No. of households	Population
Raja ..	31	166
Karan ..	23	127
Gudia ..	5	29
Keota ..	2	9
Washerman ..	3	16
<hr/>		
Total ..	64	347

Sanakania has been subjected to the impact of external forces of change during the past thirty years. Proximity of Dantan town (in Midnapore district, West Bengal) with a good market,

development of communication, spread of education, introduction of Panchayati Raj, all played their part in producing changes in economic and social spheres of the village.

The purpose of this essay is to give a brief analytical description of the factions of the village. 'The informal and loosely organised groups in mutual opposition' may be called as factions. The villagers refer to them as 'Parties'. Factions provide the field for acquiring prestige and influence by the leading villagers. These are most obvious during weddings, village rituals and in the decision of village disputes.

In every day life, the role of the factions is not significant. Members of the opposing factions mix freely, work for each other, though the leaders of both groups do not talk to each other.

The village Sanakania is split into two opposing factions, one being traditional and the other of recent origin. Factions in this village are based on caste predominance. Sanatana, the

traditional leader belongs to Raja caste which forms majority in village population. He is illiterate but a shrewd village politician. He is a wealthy man well-known in the area as a money-leader. For his balanced judgement he is invited by the people of other villages to help in compromising their complicated disputes. Being the leader of the village Panchayat he wishes all the village disputes in the village to be compromised. He likes the Panchayati Raj administration but is not on cordial terms with the village Grama Panchayat member and the Sarpanch of Santia Grama Panchayat under which the village Sunakania comes. He describes Baikuntha, the Grama Panchayat member as a renowned blackmarketeer. He says, "being immoral what idealism he will preach in the village. He can demonstrate well on blackmarketing business. He is a Chairman of the village Upper Primary School. The School building collapsed in the last cyclone. Does he try to repair it? When I was the Secretary of the school I took no help from anybody to thatch the house and to maintain the fence that surrounds the school compound. I have promised not to look to the school unless I am approached by the great Chairman".

Baikuntha Mohanty, Grama Panchayat, ward member of the Santia Grama Panchayat, is another dominant personality in the village. His faction is known as Mohanty Group. He is literate and clever. His faction is composed of Karan, Gudia, Kouta and washerman but he is not able to influence any person from the Raju Group, which forms the opposing

faction. Baikuntha is Karan by caste. In actual practice he has done nothing except setting up a tube-well in the village, and that too near his own house. He does not like to tolerate the high-handed attitude of the traditional headman. He thinks to end the village cleavages through the Sarpanch.

Sunakania men cite one dispute as the origin of the present factional alignments in the village. Gouranga, a Karan youngman belonging to Mohanty Group had illicit love with the wife of Chandra Sethi, a washerman in the village. On the occasion of Dasahara Gouranga also took some meals in the washerman's house. Villagers came to know about it. The headman wanted immediate action against him for breaking the caste taboos. A village Panchayat meeting was held and Gouranga was fined Rs. 10. His relation with Chandra's wife was not discussed in the meeting. One day Chandra found Gouranga with his wife. He burst into fury. Quarrel broke out between the two men. Chandra hit Gouranga severely. Two villagers rushed to the scene and stopped the fight. The matter was referred to the headman who wanted to get it decided soon in the presence of all the family heads. The ward member of the Grama Panchayat wanted to report the case to the Panchayat Office. Finally the case was compromised in the village Panchayat. Chandra was boycotted for a fortnight. In the interests of preserving the caste superiority, the higher caste elders (including Karan) felt that severe punishment was necessary. It was declared that all the village people

should sever their social, economic and ritual connections with Chandra and his family.

In addition to this he was required to pay a fine of Rs. 50. The washerman argued that they could not pay the fine, if the village broke off economic, social and ritual relations with Chandra. Their appeal was unsuccessful. The fine was not paid and the villagers cut off all relations with Chandra and his family. Chandra faced difficulties to maintain his family. He was dependent mainly on his traditional occupation. He owned a little agricultural rice land. He started a laundry in Dantan town on share basis. He now earns more money by washing and ironing clothes for town customers than he could ever have earned by serving the villagers. In the absence of Chandra at home her wife continued to maintain illicit relationship with Gouranga. The matter was disclosed by the brothers of Chandra. Before any action was taken Gouranga and Chandra's wife left the village.

One year passed and Chandra lost all hope to get back his wife. He wished to marry again. A bride was arranged by his brother in a nearby village. The traditional faction under the leadership of the village headman refused to allow the wedding to take place in the village until Chandra had paid the fine levied on him last year. In such a critical situation Chandra approached the Panchayat, ward member (Baikuntha) for help. He assured to come to his rescue. He re-established economic relationship with Chandra and to celebrate the wedding peacefully, he took the help of police.

Although the case occurred a year back, to Sunakania man it is still one of the most important disputes between the two factions. This is because it symbolises the faction leaders' actions in opposition to each others group. The Grama Panchayat member supported the washerman after the village Panchayat severed all economic and ritual relations with him. He says that he supported Chandra because he deserved sympathy and that there was no reason why Chandra's wedding should not have been held in the village. He regarded this case as a welcome chance to show his supremacy in the village politics. He obviously wished to undermine the strong hold the headman had over the village.

Baikuntha to bring a permanent compromise between the two factions, approached the Sarpanch of Santia Grama Panchayat. The Sarpanch came to the village and asked the ward member to inform the villagers to meet him. Being aware of Sarpanch's coming to the village the headman along with his two other associates left the village. Most of the household heads from the Mohanty Groups and a few from the headman's faction responded to the call of Sarpanch. Thus, Baikuntha's efforts were frustrated.

On another occasion the Mohanty Group wished to enact a drama in the village. Amateur actors came on request from other villages. Some of the amateur actors drank liquor at the back of the rehearsal house. The matter was reported to the police by a member of the headman's faction. The police frequented the village and threatened the persons addicted to

liquor. Rehearsals for the drama were suspended. The headman to strengthen his group took the help of police.

The conflict between the two factions comes up on all major issues and in every major dispute, but it hardly affects day-to-day life in the village. The Mohanty Group employs labourers

from the headman's faction and the others also do vice versa. Indebtedness also cuts across faction alignment. The headman is an important money-lender of the area. He is a shrewd and thrifty businessman. Marriage ties also cut across factional alignments. These factors ensure the bridging of the cleavage between the two factions in every day life.

The Sa-ara are a tribal community residing in the coastal districts of Orissa. They are supposed to form a part of the great Sahar tribe where the Saora belong. The Saora are a primitive tribe, chiefly residing in the forests and hills of the districts of Ganjam and Koraput. They have their distinctive language and culture and possess all the characteristics of a primitive tribe. The Sa-ara on the other hand speak Oriya and are not distinguishable from their Hindu neighbours. They worship Hindu gods and have those functional relationships with the Hindu society which characterise a caste.

The present paper aims at an analysis of the bodily measurements and observations on the Sa-ara. The study was made by the author on one hundred and ten adult males selected from villages neighbouring Bhubaneswar (New Capital) in the Pari district, Orissa. The samples were collected from the following villages, namely, Numpalli, Siripur, Russelgarh, Barumunda, Baragarh and Ghatikia. The operation was carried out from November to April 1962. The following anthropometric measurements and somatoscopic observations were registered.

### Observations

Skin colour; form, texture and quantity of hair, beard and moustache; opening of eye-slit together with the presence or absence of epicanthic fold; nature of eyebrows; degree of development of supra-orbital ridges; depression of nasal root and nature of nasal bridge; degree of development of zygomatic arch; degree of thickness and nature of eversion of lips.

### Measurements

The following anthropometric measurements were taken—maximum head length, maximum head breadth, maximum frontal diameter; maximum bi-zygomatic breadth; bigonial breadth; nasal height; nasal breadth; morphological facial length; stature; auricular head height.

The following indices have been worked out of the above measurements—Cephalic index, nasal index, length height index, breadth height index and facial index.

The measurements were strictly taken according to techniques developed by Wilder. For indices Martin's classifications have been followed. However in this short paper it has not been

possible to give the classification of indices. Therefore, only the abstract of the analysis has been presented.

### Analysis of the Somatoscopic Observations

**Skin Colour**—The skin colour of each of the subjects has been observed on two different parts of the body, namely, on the ventral side of the upper arm and on the cheek. Observations are made mainly by eye approximation. According to descriptive terms, the skin colour of the majority of people are lightbrown to brown-tawny both on the exposed and on the unexposed parts of the body. Very few cases of deeper shades are noticed.

### Hair

(a) *Hair form*—Regarding hair form 104(96.36 per cent) persons possess low wavy hair. The remaining 3(2.73 per cent) and 1(0.90 per cent) have straight and wavy hair, respectively.

(b) *Texture*—The texture of hair in majority of 98(89.10 per cent) cases is fine. Only 8(7.27 per cent) and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of medium and coarse hair were noticed.

(c) *Quantity*—The quantity of hair in majority of cases 92(83.63 per cent) is medium. The rest 8(7.27 per cent) and 10(9.09 per cent) are scanty and thick, respectively.

### Beard and Moustache

In majority of cases 80(72.63 per cent) have slight growth of beard and moustache. Only 26(23.63 per cent) cases of medium and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of thick facial hair were observed

### Eye

(a) *Nature of Eye-slits*—Only 12(10.90 per cent) cases with oblique eye-slits were noted. All the other subjects had straight eye-slits.

(b) *Epicanthus*—In majority of cases 94(85.45 per cent) no epicanthic fold in the eyes was found. The trace of epicanthic fold was noticed in 13(11.81 per cent) and moderate epicanthic fold in 3(2.73 per cent) cases.

(c) *Eyebrows*—From the study it was found that 29 persons (26.36 per cent) have thin eyebrows and only 4 persons (3.63 per cent) have thick eyebrows. The remaining 77(70.00 per cent) are in between the two. Only 9(8.09 per cent) cases with connected eyebrows were noticed.

### Supra-orbital ridges

Measuring the degree of the development of the supra-orbital ridges it was found that 37 persons (33.63 per cent) had pronounced type of supra-orbital ridges and 12 persons (10.90 per cent) had a slight trace of the ridge while rest of the subjects numbering 61(55.45 per cent) possessed moderate type of supra-orbital ridges.

### Nose

(a) *Depression of nasal root*—The frequencies of shallow and medium type of nasal depression are 37(33.63 per cent) and 68(61.81 per cent) respectively. Only 5 persons (4.54 per cent) possessed deep nasal depression.

(b) *Nasal Bridge*—The majority of subjects numbering 53(46.36 per cent) possessed straight nasal bridge. And the frequency in case of concave,



convex and concavoconvex noses were 43(39.0 per cent) 9(8.18 per cent) and 5(4.54 per cent) respectively.

### *Zygomatic arch*

The marked zygomatic arch is noted in 63(57.27 per cent) cases. The rest of the subjects possessed medium and straight zygomatic projections their number and percentage being 40(36.36 per cent) and 7(6.36 per cent) respectively.

### *Lips*

(a) *Thickness*—The majority of subjects numbering 71(64.54 per cent) possessed medium lips. The cases with thin and thick lips noted were 2(1.81 per cent) and 37(33.63 per cent) respectively.

(b) *Eversion*—Among the persons studied only 3(2.72 per cent) cases with slight everted lips were observed.

### **Analysis of Anthropometric Measurements**

#### *Stature*

Analysing the measurements on stature it was noticed that majority of subjects (71.81 per cent) were between 150—163.9 centimetres in stature that is from short stature to just approaching medium stature. The average stature was found to be  $161.81 \pm 0.43$  cm. The maximum being 177.8 cm. and the minimum 146.3 cm. The percentage of very short, medium, above medium, and tall were 7.27; 11.81; 5.45 and 3.63, respectively.

#### *Indices*

(a) *Cephalic Index*—The mean cephalic index was  $76.18 \pm 0.42$  with the maximum of 81.6 and minimum of 69.8.

Dolichocephaly (54.54 per cent) appeared to be predominant. Mesiocephaly occurred in the next highest percentage of (40.00 per cent). Brachycephaly and hyper-dolichocephaly are in the equal percentage of 2.72 per cent. The mean head length and breadth are  $18.89 \pm 0.04$  and  $14.18 \pm 0.04$  centimetres, respectively. Head length and head breadth varies between 20.1 and 17.4 cm. 16.6 and 12.8 respectively.

(b) *Length-height Index*—The mean length-height index of head was  $66.03 \pm 0.27$ , the average of variation being between 80.7 and 51.1. Hypsicephaly (78.18 per cent) appeared to be predominant. The percentage of chamaecephalic and orthocephalic elements were 3.63 and 18.18, respectively. The mean head-height was  $11.98 \pm 0.08$  cm. the maximum being 14.8 cm. and the minimum 9.3 cm.

(c) *Breadth-height Index*—The mean breadth-height index was  $88.86 \pm 0.59$  cm. with the maximum of 107.0 and minimum of 70.9. Acrocephaly (39.09 per cent) occurs as highest concentration. Tapinocephaly and metriocephaly were 20.00 per cent and 20.90 per cent, respectively.

(d) *Nasal Index*—The mean nasal index was  $76.55 \pm 0.59$  with the maximum of 98.2 and the minimum 60.8. Mesorrhine occurred as the highest concentration in 50.90 per cent while the percentage of platyrrhine was 47.27 per cent. Leptorrhine occurs in 1.81 cases only. No cases of hyper-leptorrhine were noticed. The mean nasal height and nasal breadth was  $4.71 \pm 0.03$  and  $3.89 \pm 0.04$  centimetres, respectively. The average of variation of the nasal height was

between 5.6 and 3.7 cm. while that of nasal breadth between 4.5 and 3.0 cm.

(c) *Total Facial Index*—The mean total facial index was  $87.82 \pm 0.60$  the maximum being 105.6 and the minimum 73.8. It was noticed that the Mesoprosopic element was predominant (28.18 per cent) while both the Euryprosopic and Leptoprosopic elements were strongly present in order of frequency. The percentages were 26.36 and 27.27 per cent respectively. The hyper-euryprosopic and hyper-leptoprosopic elements were low. The mean total facial length was  $11.19 \pm 0.04$  cm. the maximum being 12.4 cm. and the minimum 9.9 cm. The mean bizygomatic breadth was  $12.94 \pm 0.05$  cm. the maximum being 13.8 cm. and the minimum 11.2 cm.

### Conclusion

It has been mentioned earlier that the Sa-ara of the coastal districts are supposed to be a part of the Saora. It is held that the former migrated to the coastal districts in the remote past and forgot their distinctive language and culture in course of time. At present there is no cultural evidence in support of this hypothesis. We have therefore, to fall back upon the bodily measurements and observations to test this hypothesis. The data presented in this paper should be compared with equivalent data on representative samples from Saora. If this is done, scientific evidence can be produced for testing a hypothesis whose basis at present is conjectural.

An attempt is made in this paper to describe the changes that have affected the "Bauri" caste residing in the Bhubaneswar town in the district of Puri, Orissa.

Materials for this paper were collected from the following Bauri wards located in Bhubaneswar town in the district of Puri, Orissa, such as:— Gate Sahi, Matl Sahi, Chemendi Sahi, Huda Sahi, Matha Sahi, Nalamunda Sahi, Nageswar Sahi, Kalkadevi Sahi and Bangala Sahi.

According to the census taken by the author the Bauris inhabiting these wards number 450 of whom 224 are male and 226 are female.

This paper intends to discuss the changing status of the caste during the period 1940—1962. To find out the changes in the different aspects 1940 has been taken as the base-line. This year was selected for the base-line as the forces of change began to emerge from this year. From 1947, after the construction of the State Capital, the pace of change became rapid. The internal and external forces of change and the agents through which they worked would be discussed towards the end of the paper.

For collecting data from the informants for this paper several methods were adopted. To know the status of these people in 1940 the old and experienced people were interviewed. Data for 1962 were collected through observation both participant and non-participant. To verify the results of the interviews checking and rechecking were made in course of analysis. The findings on a comparative basis for the period are presented below.

#### *Bauri ward (Sahi)*

As a polluting caste the Bauri wards were situated at the outskirts of the clean-caste wards. Matha Sahi was an exception to this rule because the Bauris of this ward were brought by the head (Mahanta) of this Math (monastery) from different villages to work in the paddy fields owned by the monastery and in the monastery itself nominal wages. They were given free house-plots in monastery compound. They had their separate wells in their wards, as they were not permitted to use the wells of the clean-caste people. Huda Sahi and Chemendi Sahi had their own deities known as "Duladei" and "Chemendai" respectively. These deities were worshipped by a local

Bauri known as "Kalsi" (Shaman priest). These deities were situated under banyan trees and were made of rough and unheven stones, painted with vermilion. Each ward consisted of 8 to 30 (Mati Sahi 8 and Huda Sahi 30) houses situated on both the sides of the ward road. The houses were made of wattle and daub and were built at the height of about seven feet. An outsider was not allowed to enter into the house. The ward roads were unmetalled and muddy. In rainy season the ward roads looked like drains. In all the houses the same room was used for various purposes like store, kitchen, bed, cow-shed etc. Each family had its own husking livers (Dhenki) installed either at the front or back verandah. All the houses were without any windows. There was no regular road connecting the wards and the Bauris lived a life of isolation.

In 1962 the Bauri wards have assumed a new shape and is not considered as isolated and lonely. These wards are now surrounded by big buildings of the people coming from outside. These wards are now connected with good metalled roads with the other clean-caste wards. These roads have been constructed by the Public Works Department and Notified Area Council in the Bauri wards with the direct initiative of the ward members. In Gate Sahi the ward road was metalled by a Bauri youth who was paid all the expenses from the Notified Area Council. The new houses constructed in the wards are fully influenced by the pattern prevalent in New Capital. Though the roofs are still of thatch, floors have been cemented, walls whitewashed and rooms are with windows. I came across such

houses in Nalamunda Sahi and Nag-swar Sahi. The Bauris of Huda Sahi use the well of their clean-caste neighbours. The Bauris of Mati Sahi have dug a well getting money from the Notified Area Council in their ward. It is important to note that about 25 per cent of houses have removed from their houses the husking livers. One will not find a husking liver in a newly constructed house.

#### *Food and drink*

The traditional food of the Bauris was very simple in 1940. It consisted of rice and curry mainly prepared out of green leaves and Saru (*Callitriche* Taro) Water shell (Genda) and Kochia (a kind of snake like fish) were also used in the curry, if brought from the nearby ponds. Fish, dry fish and meat were a luxury to them and were served on special occasions. It is noteworthy to mention that they accompanied the local hunters as helpers (Paribansua) in the hunting expeditions. Generally meat was procured from hunting. They took their meals twice a day, the first meal early morning and the second early in the evening. Tea, liquor and Ganja etc., were not used by these people.

The food and drink of the Bauris in 1962 have changed a lot in comparison to the base-line pattern. Vegetables like potato, brinjals, etc. dry fish and fish, etc. are served daily as dishes. They have been addicted to tea and Gurakho (a kind of narcotic). Each Bauri takes tea daily in the morning and in the evening. About 15 per cent of the Bauris drink tea throughout the day and this practice has compelled them to cut down their daily consumption of food. About 5 per cent of the youth, drink country liquor to get rid of the day's hard toil.

*Occupation*

Agricultural labour and earth working were considered to be their traditional occupation. They were also employed by clean-caste stone-quarry owners as stone-cutters for which they were paid daily wages. Besides these, secular occupations the Bauris of Matha Sahi, Bangala Sahi and Huda Sahi were employed in the Lingaraj temple. For this they were given tax-free (Niskar) house plots and nominal remuneration. The temple duties allotted to this caste group were as follows:—

1. To cut the first tree on Saraswati Puja in new axes from the mango-tops (Bada Toti).

2. To repair of the road (Rathadanda) for the temple car (Ratha) to pass on the car festival day.

3. To serve as the breaks-man (Khara dawala) of the temple car. Old Bauri ladies were employed as "Dhai" (Nurse) to attend the expectant mothers. The tables mentioned below lists the remunerations and wages, etc., in the sacred and secular contexts:—

*Table showing the Remunerations for the sacred services (1940)*

Sl. No.	Nature of duties	Remunerations
1	Cutting of the first log of the deity's car.	.. 4 annas in cash. A little amount of food offering. A new cloth each.
2	Repair of the road of the car (Ratha).	.. 4 annas per head
3	For acting as breaks-man	.. 4 annas in cash and a new cloth.

*Table showing the Remunerations for the secular services (1940)*

1	Daily wages for cutting laterite stones	.. 6 annas to 8 annas
2	Daily wages for working as labourer. (Male)	.. 6 annas
3	Daily wages for working as labourer (Female)	.. 3 annas
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Male)	.. 2 annas and 2 measures of paddy.
5	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Female)	.. 2 annas and 2 measures of paddy.
6	Remunerations for working as Nurse.	.. Rs. 2 in cash and free food. A new Saree.

After the construction of the New Capital here in Bhubaneswar and due to the growing need for labourers daily wages gone up than before. The need for more labourers and rise in the rate of daily wages improved the economic status of the Bauris. This economic development also affected the material culture and the day-to-day life of the Bauris. This will be analysed separately below. Along with the secular services, remunerations for the sacred services also increased. But it is interesting to note here that the traditional wages of the Bauris of Matha Sahi did not rise and remained the same as before. In spite of the increased rate of wages the Bauris of this ward still do the same work in the monastery at the traditional rate of wages.

Two Bauri youths have opened tea stalls (one in Gate Sahi and the other in Nagaswar Sahi) on the road side close to their ward. Three have been employed as Class IV servants of the

State and Central Government. One as a Vehicle Guard in the Notified Area Council and two as Peons in the Government offices. Two Bauris are pulling rickshaws in New Capital. It is interesting to note that the Bauris after the establishment of the New Capital have adopted new occupations as a means of livelihood. The Bauris of Huda Sahi, Bangala Sahi, Nagaswar Sahi, etc. have started Band Parties (orchestral music party) and are hired for ceremonies like marriage and sacred thread of the clean-caste people of the new and old town. Three Bauris work as masons in New Capital under building contractors. The sacred duties have also undergone certain changes. Repair of the road on the occasion of the car festival is no longer undertaken as it has been metalled by the Notified Area Council. The sacred and secular services done by the Bauris and the rate of remunerations and wages for the year 1962 are stated in the following tables.

*Remunerations for sacred services (1962)*

Sl. No.	Nature of work	Remunerations
1	Cutting the first log for the temple chariot ..	Rs. 2 and a new cloth
2	Acting as brakes-man ..	Ditto

*Remuneration for secular services (1962)*

1	Daily wages for cutting laterite stones ..	Rs. 4 to Rs. 5
2	Daily wages for other non-agricultural labour (Male).	Rs. 3 to Rs. 3.50
3	Daily wages for other non-agricultural labour (Female).	Rs. 3
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Male) ..	Rs. 3
5	Daily wages as Mason ..	Rs. 5
6	Remuneration from rickshaw pulling ..	Rs. 4 per day

*Political changes*

The Bauris obeyed their traditional caste association known as "Jatiana Sabha" and their caste leaders like the Behera and the Bada Behera. The caste leaders were always respected and obeyed. All the disputes arising among them were settled by these leaders.

By 1962 new legislations passed by the Government rendered the traditional association obsolete with the introduction of Panchayati Raj new type of leadership came in to being. The traditional leaders are no longer consulted. All the issues arising in the caste are now decided either by the Panchayati members or in the Civil Court. Cases are also decided by the influential clean-caste people of the town.

*Changes in Religious life*

As a polluting caste they were not permitted to worship in the temples. The deities worshipped by the Bauris were worshipped by them and no Brahmin priests were engaged.

In 1962 it was been observed that the Bauris employed a Brahmin to worship their deity "Chemerndai" and paid him Rs. 10 per annum for his services. On Mahavishuva Sankranti the Bauris in co-operation with the nearby clean-caste people arrange the "Fire-working festival" (Jhama Jatra) near their deities "Chemerndai" and "Duladei". The Bauris freely entered into the compounds of Kapali, Parsurameswar and Mukteswar temples. They are fully aware of the rules passed by the Government to abolish untouchability.

*Other aspects of change*

As discussed above changes in the social, political, economic and religious spheres are noteworthy. After the establishment of the New Capital of the State at Bhubaneswar these changes have come up rapidly. Economic development, as described earlier, brought about changes in the other spheres. The large demand on labour for the construction of the State Capital opened new avenues of earning. The daily wages went up. The increased earnings have affected their day-to-day life and material culture. The Bauri women now use gold and silver ornaments in preference to the traditional brass ornaments. They no longer use the earthen pitchers to fetch water. These have been replaced by bucket; and bell-metal jugs. Those who work in New Capital under the building contractors use cosmetics and scented oil. New items like wrist watches and bicycles have been included in the marriage dowries. The Bauri women now are ashamed to use the husking liver and depend mostly on the rice mills of the town. Prostitution has become common among the woman folk, specially those who work in the capital area. Use of contraceptives has furthered this practice. Reservation of seats in the Notified Area Council election and the other Governmental measures for the upliftment of this group have brought a new type of leadership among them. The caste leaders have lost their hold on the society. Cases arising among the caste are now decided by the clean-caste people and this shows the gradual decline of the traditional caste association. Multiple means of independent livelihood is also responsible for the gradual decline of

caste solidarity. Changes in dress have bridged the gulf between them and other clean-castes. The services of the washerman and the barber, residing in the New Capital, are now available to them. In New Capital the Bauris freely take tea and tiffin equally with the other people in the hotels and restaurants. People do not hesitate to take tea in the shops opened by the Bauris in Bhubaneswar.

The old town of Bhubaneswar is a traditional religious centre whose internal dynamics were too feeble to bring about any appreciable change in the status of any caste. The establishment

of the modern town of the New Capital has swept off the traditional, social and economic pattern. The religious habits however, still persist in a superficial way.

#### *Notes*

1. The author wishes to thank Fr. Cora DU Bois, Zemmury professor, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, U. S. A. All the expenses for the investigation were borne out of the funds placed at her disposal by the National Science Foundation, U. S. A. He is also grateful to Mr. David M. Miller for his suggestions for the improvement of the paper.



The Saora house is a thatched hut small in size with earthen walls and pillars, posts, beams and rafters of unsized timber. The door frame is also of the same material and the door-leaf, except in the case of a prosperous Saora, is of sliced bamboo woven together. The plinth of the house is generally high enough to allow free drainage but houses with low plinth are not rare to see.

The verandah is kept clean and neat and it is in great use. Paddy and other grains are husked there. Grains are sorted before they are taken to the kitchen. Siall ropes are twisted there and mats with date leaves are woven here. The men and women sit there for a chat during spare time, smoking. The men sleep on the verandah during the summer season. It is the sick room during the day and close to it on the village street the new born baby has its bath daily twice for a month. The house-wife and the girls of the house plaster it frequently with mud and keep it always neat and clean.

The door-leaf has a peculiar contrivance which answers the purpose of locking. The contrivance is common and even though every house has it there is no fear of theft and house-breaking. There is a hole in the top centre of the door frame through which the hand is thrust in and a bolt fixed in the inner side is pulled into position to prevent the door from opening from out side. While opening, the bolt is moved to a side and the door opens. The bolt is a piece of wood about 6" long. Where the family can afford it, a lock is put

on the door which has its staple and chain. The houses of the Gormang, Bhoys and the Bodorait have invariably locking arrangements with chain and staple.

The main room is a small passage like room. It is carved out by partitioning a room into the living room and the kitchen. There is a partition between these two and generally wooden posts fixed in the ground form the partition. It is mud plastered in the majority of cases and is about 3' high. There is a shelf like arrangement made of wooden planks placed lengthwise across a number of posts throughout the length of the room. The hearth or fire place in the kitchen has a continuous fire burning and one sees a few pots and a number of bitter gourd "lokas" in the kitchen.

The floor of this main room has two holes at which the girls of the house pound corn or husk it in the morning even before it is light, for the breakfast of the family. The husking is done by a cylindrical wooden piece about 3' in length and 4" in diameter. The stouter end is used for adding weight to the pounder while the thinner end with an iron band round it is used in husking. The girl wields it squarely and makes a sharp hissing sound when the blow lands on the grain. There is yet another contrivance for husking. It is a wooden Chakki two circular slabs of hard wood each about 10" thick. The upper slab is held in position by a small wooden spike or projection fixed to the slab below. The grain is pushed in a cavity in the upper slab and then the slab is moved round and round. There it is just a

*Chakoli* as we call it but of hard wood and prepared by the Soara himself. The Soara is not a stone-cutter and has to meet his needs in the above manner.

A portion of the main room along side the rear wall is the place where drinking water and water for the kitchen is kept. Wooden posts of a height of 3' to 4' are driven into the floor. There is plank decking over these posts over which the water is kept in earthen pots. Rarely brass utensils are used and whether it is of brass or of earth, the pot is kept scrupulously clean. Just a few feet above the pots are kept the 'Dumba Dumbi' of the house. These are the family Gods and are kept in earthen pots of small size. These contain drawings or effigies of the Gods and they are the indoor Gods of the Soara.

At the very entrance of the main room a bamboo hangs breadthwise suspended from the rafter. Slung from this bamboo one sees the bahers of the cattle, the "make noises" of the goats, the plough ropes, etc. Whenever the man is lucky he has a packet of elephant dung strung from this bamboo. Pieces of dried buffalo flesh are also to be seen so slung. The bows and arrows are stuck in the thatch of the roof within reach. The gobla, the sickle, the bansi, the knife are all stuck into the roof. The "Powder flask" usually a buffalo horn with a metal cap is also there. Spare gobla handles are either slung from a bamboo rafter or are stuck into the roof. Fibres collected from the forest used for twining rope are also there.

Towards the centre of this main room are suspended the seed grains of the Soara. Seed maize and seeds of

asparagus beans, pumpkin, etc. are tied in leaf packets and suspended. On top of these seed grains are some spare dry and hollowed gourds for use as pitchers for keeping or fetching water or as handdles for serving cooked food.

On a second floor formed by the decking over the fire place there is the granary of the Soara. The grains are kept in big split bamboo receptacles. These as well as all other items in the two rooms are smoked to a shining dark brown colour. The fowls of the family are driven into a trap-like contrivance in the space below the water space. Goats, if any, are tied along with the cattle. The cattle shed is either a separate hut or an extension in the back of the house accessible from outside.

There are no plates and cups in use and no metal plates or dishes. Leaf cups, palatters, known as Dora, serve the purpose. The living room which is the main room accommodates all the members of the family during the rains and winter. There are no pets except a dog and the dog sleeps in the house or on the verandah or in the cattle shed. The house of the Soara does not require to be spacious. He has few wants. He lives for the day or at best for the morrow. The vegetables fetched from the Bogodo, the corn and grain as harvested all go straight to the kitchen. The produce of the Bogodo in excess of daily requirements is kept either green or dry for sale to the peddlars who come with salt, tobacco, etc., to the Bogodo for barter. The house with the cattle is, to be exact, a "Noah's Ark".

# THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND JURIDICAL MACHINERY OF THE CHETTIAR KUSAVAN AND THE PALLAN OF VILLUPURAM

## Introduction

"Social control and caste go together.....", holds Prasad (1937:245). Every caste in India has a standing council to regulate the conduct and guide the morals of its members. Its smooth functioning maintains social conformity and coherence within the caste. Conformity to the norm "is either voluntary or else it results from the pressure of sanctions," (Wilson, 1937:17), because the individual and the social order are parts of one system of life. Bogardus finds that the "group control and personal initiative are two poles of social life". Both must be constant in their operation if society is to function smoothly (1934:206). Its aims are, as Kimball Young asserts, "to bring about conformity, solidarity, and continuity of a particular group or society", (Young, 1942:63).

Within the purview of this paper, we shall be discussing the nature of authority structure in, and the mode of social control of the Chettiar Kusavan and the Pallan castes living in the Villupuram Taluk of South Arcot district in Madras State along with similar case illustrations from both the castes; the former is an artisan caste (Potter) belonging to the clean Sudra group of the Hindu social

order and the latter is an exterior<sup>1</sup> caste.

The Chettiar Kusavan constitute a *de jure* endogamous sub-caste of the Tamil potters who are identified with Sivaitze sect. But Chettiar Kusavan and the Pallan living within Villupuram Taluk form *de facto* endogamous units within their respective cultural spheres. The former are spread over in eleven villages and the latter are found in sixteen villages within a radius of about twenty-five miles. The population of the Chettiar Kusavan and that of the Pallan is roughly twenty-six hundred, and three thousand respectively. They constitute, within their respective domains, effective units of action and manage their respective caste affairs independent of their counterparts living beyond the limits of Mannachanalur Taluk. The members of the group refer to each other as *Kul Sakothargazgal* or caste-brothers. They form into, in their respective social and cultural spheres, effective communal and status units. This effective group "can be called the

1. Hutton, 1961:187, "The term 'exterior' for the Hindu castes hitherto known 'depressed' was originally suggested by the Census Superintendent for Assam and was adopted in the report as the most satisfactory alternative to the unfortunate and depressing label 'Depressed Classes' (I) i.e., Report on the Census of India, 1931.

Kindred<sup>1</sup> of recognition. This is the population within which marriages are made and/or kin links can be traced through mutual kin" (Mayer, 1960:4).

### *Social Organization*

Structurally the *Chettiar Kusavan* and the *Pallar* are very much alike; the members of the same caste living in different villages, within the Taluk, have a lot in common.

The basic social group among these castes is the patrilineal and virilocal family called *Kudumba*; and an individual is identified with it. But the *Kudumba* in several cases is divided from within, the *Samsam* or elementary families are the potential divisions inside it. The larger consanguineal kin group is *kul* or lineage, where common relationship of genealogical links between consanguineal kinsmen could be traced, but not beyond it. But, on the other hand, the *kul* is also a compromise<sup>2</sup> kin group which excludes the adult female consanguineal kinsmen and includes the spouses of these

1. Mayer, 1960:4, "The kindred of recognition is, in the instances I have recorded, a *de facto* exogamous body, for it contains enough people to satisfy the search for partners and, as I have said, people do not like to marry into the 'unknown'.

2. Murdock, 1949:66 "..... that incest taboos and the residential cohabitation of husband and wife prevent the localization of a unitary consanguineal kin group in its entirety under any rule of residence. This can be approximated only by combining a uxorilocal rule of residence with a consistent uxorilocal rule of descent and affecting a compromise whereby some affinal relatives are included and some consanguineal kinsmen excluded".

3. Karve, 1953:186 "If two sisters are married into one family their children will belong to the same paternal clan, and so marriage is prohibited".

of the opposite sex. The enlarged exogamous unit is *gotram* or *sib* which is composed of several compromise kin groups. Among the *Chettiar Kusavan* of Mannachanur there are eight such exogamous *gotram* or *sibs*, viz., *pandira*, *pandiradi*, *kodharin*, *cherry*, *mappilacherry*, *chada cherry*, *chirancherry* and *channacherry*; and among the *Pallars* there are seven such *gotrams*, namely, *perugudam*, *kolapalam kodavarin*, *oilvarin*, *bamavarin*, *sadigar* and *bastimar*. Although *gotram* regulates exogamous marriages between agnates where the kinship is of hypothetical nature, there are also rules of consanguinity which govern marriages between affines. Among the prohibited degree bilateral cross-cousins are potential mates, and the daughter of an elder sister is also considered as a preferential marriage mate; whereas children of two sisters cannot intermarry.

Excepting these, marriage with all patrilineal kinsmen as well as with a matrilineal kin up to within the fourth degree of relationship is forbidden. Monogamous marriage is the usual practice, but there are a few cases of bigamy among both the *Chettiar Kusavan* as well as the *Pallars*; such cases are only found with the elder generation; the present trend is to denounce and discourage such practices. Levirate (senior) and sororate (Junior) marriages are practised under admissible circumstances. No case of levirate has presently been found either among the *Kusavan* or among the *Pallars* but there are three established cases of sororate among the former and five among the latter. And obviously, all these sororates have not resulted on the demise of previous wives. Rajaratnam (a *Chettiar Kusavan*)

of Ajaknoil village has married the younger sister of his wife since the latter failed to bear a child. Apart from this there has been a case of two sterile brothers (Sivasambham and Sreenivas of Chettiar Kusavaru caste) marrying two such sisters, and perhaps, the possibilities of such matings "may have resulted in the prejudice against the marriage of maternal parallel cousins". Instances of divorce, consequent upon quarrel and disagreements, and widow marriages are there among the Pallars only. And among Chettiar kusavaru cases of divorce of widow marriage have not occurred within last fifteen years as a result of their changing value system.

The average marriage-age, among both the castes, of a girl is at or slightly after puberty; of boys about five or six years later the puberty. Marriages are arranged and aligned on the basis of negotiations on parental level subject to the acquiescence of Kul members and the Panchayatikuttam or caste council, respectively.

#### *Economic structure:*

By vocation the Chettiar kusavaru are artisans, namely, potters and the Pallars are a sort of agricultural labourers. The division of labour among the former, in pursuance of their craft, makes their income a result of joint-effort. Their vocational co-operation and interdependence are not only confined to family level, they are also found on communal level; for instance, taking lease of waste-land jointly for exploring suitable clay, fetching of fuel commonly and firing a kiln co-operatively. Mutual co-operation is not sought for the sake of economy only, it becomes imperative to increase the efficiency of the craft. In contrast to this,

the Pallars have a type of subsistence which confers on them a lot of individuality and personal economic independence. All adult members irrespective of sex, go out in the morning for wage-earning and return home after the day's toil with their individual remunerations either in terms of cash or corn; some also receive their payments on weekly and or monthly basis. Womenfolk of the Chettiar kusavaru usually confine to the domicile and their children assist the elder members in their craft. Among the Pallars the task of the grown up children is mainly to look after the youngsters when the elder members of a family are out for work.

The household is run and the family budget is controlled by womenfolk in both the castes.

#### *Authority structure and the juridical machinery of Chettiar Kusavaru and Pallars*

The mode of social control and the authority structure among both the castes are quite similar. Hence, our analysis of them will be in a like-manner.

#### *Illustrative diagram of the authority structure*

- |                                                       |                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Periyavar<br>(Caste headman)                       | Panchayatikuttam                                      |
| 2. Chinnavar<br>(Deputy headman)                      | Members of the<br>Panchayati Kuttam or Caste Council, |
| 3. G o t r a m-taleyavars (Sib-heads)                 |                                                       |
| 4. Kul-taleyavars (lineage-head)                      |                                                       |
| 5. Kudumba-taleyavar<br>(Head of an extended family). |                                                       |

The general authority structure is hierarchical-ranging from head of a family at the bottom to the headman of the caste at the top. Everyone of them has got his own duties and obligations to the caste. The real authorities pertaining to all caste matters are not vested in any single man, rather, they are infused deeply in corporate body called *Panchayati-kutam* or caste-council, which is composed of a *periyavar* or caste headman, a *chinnavar* or deputy headman and all the *gotavai-taleyvars* or sib-heads of the caste. It functions as a unit and its jurisdiction encompasses the entire 'effective group', the physical extension of which is coextensive with the boundaries of Mannachanalur Taluk. The *Kul Taleyvars* or lineage heads and the *Kudumba-Taleyvars* or family heads are not included in the caste council but attend its sessions whenever they are required to do so; they function outside but in subservience to it.

In the first instance, we shall discuss here, in detail the structure and function of each office of authority and that of the caste council later.

The *Periyavar* or caste headman is a pivotal figure in the caste structure. The status and prestige a headman enjoys, depends much upon his personal integrity and capabilities. For instance, Natrajan, the *Kusavar* caste headman, enjoys a position of great influence; he wields such an influence mainly due to his immaculate character and dynamic personality; he is not only strict and firm in caste matters but also equally considerate and helpful to his castemen. On the other hand, Narshiman, the *Pallav* caste headman enjoys scant prestige among

his castemen. He is held in scorn for his vacillating and indecisive nature.

Succession to the office of the caste headman is usually hereditary on the principle of male primogeniture. If a successor has not attained maturity at the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, on behalf of him the deputy caste headman may exercise the *de facto* authority provided the latter is commissioned to do so by the castemen. In the absence of a male heir to succeed, the office passes on to the nearest male patrilineal kin; and, if a suitable candidate is not available within the lineage, the privilege may be extended to any other lineage or to any other sib, if the situation comes to that. But such a case has not occurred in either caste within five generations. A headman is liable to forfeit his office, should he deprave and disgrace his position by proving blatantly corrupt and utterly inefficient. It has never been practicable to oust a headman from his Office in either caste, although a sanction is there. My *Pallav* informants (Jogiraj and Sakharan) told me that some seven years ago there was a move to strip off Narshiman, the headman, of his honour by some of the castemen, but the move demagogically failed because quite a large number of the castemen opposed it, mainly from the point of view of not creating a precedent. However, narshiman was reprimanded and let out by the castemen in a general meeting. Anti-public opinion and the apprehension of reprimands serve as checks and balances on the activities of the caste headman. Anyway the

authority of the headman is not imposed from any extraneous source ; obviously it emerges from within the caste for the cause of safeguarding its interests from any sort of decadence or cultural jeopardy.

The headman has had both sacred and secular functions. His sacred functions are manifold ; he worships the caste tutelary deities and acts as family priest for all his castemen. He conducts all the marriage and girls' pubescent ceremonies within the caste ; he officiates at the mortuary rites of his castemen also. Nay, he also conducts the rectificatory and reformatory rites to the accused persons of the caste with a view to deterring further incidence of breach of the caste norms and simultaneously condoning the one that has been committed. And, moreover, he eats the first morsel in all feasts of the caste group, he is marriage or obsequies, with the view to blot out the onliness qualities that may have involved in the food.

His secular functions are equally important in nature, for he is the *de facto* custodian of the caste norms. He is the omphalos of the juridical machinery of the caste group. He is consulted and his advice is sought in regard to all matrimonial alliances of both sexes within the group, be it monogamous, or polygynous in any form and resulting out of any type of circumstance. It is he who fixes the date for and convenes the council meetings. He invariably presides over the council meetings and first initiates the debate and deliberations in it, by giving a short account of the matters to be discussed ; he virtually dominates the scene and the opinion he holds in a matter is most

often accepted. He is the treasurer of the caste fund, which accrues either from fines or from subscriptions.

The office of the deputy caste headman is filled by nomination in a general meeting of the caste group. At times a son, if found suitable, also succeeds his father on the latter's death. A deputy caste headman can be removed from his office if censured on bad conduct. Always a competent *gotram-talepavar* or *sib-headman* holds the office of the deputy caste headman. His main function is to act as an assistant or errand-boy to the headman of the caste group. Usually, he carries the message from the headman to any member of the group ; he also does the job of extending invitation to all the members of the group through different *sib-heads* in the event of any communal gathering. He presides over the council meetings in the absence of the caste headman and does discharge the latter's sacred duties as well if asked to do so by the headman. Moreover, he maintains the account of cast funds. The office of the *Gotram-Talepavar* or *sib-headmanship* is invariably ascribed to the seniormost male member of the *gotra* or *sib*. It is just like people on an escalade, for on the death of a *sib-headman* the next senior most member of the *sib* steps in to the former's post. Hence, the status the *sib-headman* enjoys in an ascribed one, because one's incapacities are not hindrances to his succession. He is treated with courtesy and respect. He functions as a member of the caste-council and reports to the caste headman if any of his *sib-fellow* deliberately fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations to the caste or brings dishonour to it

in any manner. He may intervene in and resolve the interlineage disputes, if there is any.

The role of the *Kul toleyavar* or the head of a lineage group is undoubtedly very significant. He is the patriarch of his lineage group by virtue of his seniority in age; he is held in high regard and his words are more valued. His hegemony over the kin group is considered benevolent; he is a consultant in disease and difficulty and in pomp and pleasure too. His constant vigilance over the lineage group does not elicit any scope for any member to stray from the traditional ways of life. He may effectively mediate in and resolve the inter-family and intra-family quarrels, especially those arise too often between the affines and the spouses. At times, he not only vehemently scolds but also inflicts corporal punishments on the young boys and girls of the agnatic group who resort to easy virtue. Similarly if a man or woman is found guilty of any extra-marital sex liaison, he/she will have to bear all the ordeals that may be inflicted upon by the *Kul Toleyarar*.

His opinion is seldom ignored, because social censure is inevitable for one who does it. And, if anybody behaves arrogantly with him, the latter may refuse to participate in all his socio-religious ceremonies.

It is the head of an extended family or the *Kudamba toleyavar* who occupied the most significant position within the effective caste group among all other caste-heads, that we have discussed so far. Although it has become a common feature, now-a-days, of the sons to get separated from their parents sometime after their marriages

and start their respective elementary families, but for all purposes they maintain close connections with their families of orientation; and this sort of intimate affiliation between the families of orientation and procreation continues until the death of the father. And after the death of the father the eldest of all the brothers takes the position of the former. Hence the *Kudamba Toleyarar* is the head of several family units which together constitute this extended family or allied families. In a still wider sense, family may include another category of near kin who are one degree removed from the cluster-allied families' (Dube, 1933:135). It is incumbent upon the members of several family units, according to tradition, to show their obeisance to him. He plays an authoritarian role in the domestic scene and is considerably responsible for the enculturation of the young in the line of the traditional cultural pattern. He is the socio-religious and economic controller of the group comprising the near-kin on the paternal side. He dedicates the girls and accepts brides for the men of his group in marriage; he makes the annual offerings to the manes. He is answerable to the caste for the members of his kin group in the event of any breach of the caste norm.

The *Panchayatitakam* or the caste-council is the preemptory corporate authority which has the prerogative to punish any defaulter within its jurisdiction to the point of ostracism. It deals with offences relating to forbidden commensality, inhibited sex-relation or any other socio-religious matter that runs counter to the caste norms. The castes under review have



their respective code of conduct prohibiting or enjoining certain actions ; for instance, both *Chettiar Kavaras* as well as *Pallars* prohibit acceptance of food and drink from all castes which rank lower than their own, prescribe acceptance of cooked food from the castes those are on a par with them and permit acceptance of food as well as drink from the castes that are higher in the social order. And both the castes forbid sex-relation within prohibited degrees of kinsmen and equally condemn adultery, fornication, seduction and inter-caste sex liaison. The other types of cases that come before the council are: refusal by a party to fulfil a marriage promise which has already been settled ; considerable precastination or refusal to send a girl to her husband's place by the father or any other guardian of the girl ; ill-treatment of wife ; divorce ; acquiring a second wife and refusal to give due share of the property to a brother or to any other claimant. And all other cases relating to the breach of any caste norm hitherto in vogue, for instance, insulting any caste authority or pursuance of a new vocation contrary to caste norms (among the *Pallars* it is strictly forbidden for any *Pallar* to remove the carcass of other castes, however higher it may be) are duly considered.

The nature of punishments varies from case to case and in either caste. The case on which the *Chettiar Kavaras* will award an outright punishment of excommunication of the defaulter, the *Pallars* at the first instance outcaste the defaulter temporarily and then call upon him/her to perform an 'expiatory and deterrent' ceremony and then re-integrate him/her with

the caste thereafter. This we shall discuss later. But the usual punishments awarded by the council are : "(1) outcasting, either temporary or permanent ; (2) fines ; (3) feasts to be given to the castemen ; (4) corporal punishment, and (5) sometimes religious expiation". (Ghurye, 1930 : 4).

In regard to the nature of utilization of the fines there is a perceptible shift between the past and the present. The post-independence regeneration is the *vera causa* of the shift. Previously the fines thus collected used to be spent on communal feast or were being equally distributed among all the sib groups to entertain their respective members to alcoholic drinks. But presently the amount is only expended on constructive purposes, such as, purchase of brass and copper cooking utensils, carpets and petromaxes to be used by castemen. And clothes bought out of this fund are also supplied to poor and deserving castemen (especially widows).

The shrine of god *Ayyanar* at *Ayyandar* is the usual venue of the *Kavaras* caste council, whereas, the venue of the *Pallars* caste council is at *Tiruvan-kolpottu*. But the venues normally shift to any other place according to convenience. But when they discuss cases regarding gross breach of caste norms necessitating thereupon out casting, they do conduct the business of the council only at and upon the traditional juridical seat of it.

The members of the *Kavaras* caste council usually sit on mattresses like blankets or coarse carpets, because they believe that such beds are only provided to respectable persons. The *Pallars* use ordinary mats. The

plaintiff, the defendant and all others present, among both the castes, are supposed to sit on the ground. When a meeting (of the council) is in progress the members are served with betel leaves processed lime and areca-nuts. At times they are also supplied with tea. The expenditure is either met with from the caste fund or defrayed by the person who has urged the meeting of the council, or the expenditure is shared by both the plaintiff and the defendant. The proceedings of the council are not recorded; only the account of the caste fund is mentioned now a days.

The decision of the council is final and unquestionable. There is no appellate body which can relieve, retrieve respite or commute the judgement passed by the council. But, at times, it so happens that the aggrieved approaches some local prominent man or other castes with the view that the latter may influence some of his (aggrieved's) caste council members for attenuation of the punishment. But this sort of extraneous moves do not succeed, because, a member who succumbs to such an influence, could seldom wear away other members of the council share his point of view. Sometimes such an attempt turns detrimental for one who resorts to it, because when the matter gets publicised, the council takes serious view of such moves and corroborates the punishment thereon.

Eventually, the caste council is that august prerogative body of the caste which only is vested with the authority to modify or to do away with certain caste practices, which are considered outmoded, and whose change not only is deemed fit but also becomes impera-

tive to keep pace with the dynamic world. For instance, after independence the Pallars have adopted a resolution upholding teetotalism and vegetarianism on marriage and on such other social functions, which were hitherto regarded as essential items. And, both the *Chiemier Kanarwar* as well as the *Pallars* have strictly warned their respective castemen and women not to hurl filthy languages at each other in the event of an altercation between themselves. These moves are earnestly intended at enhancing their respective caste positions, but these moves are consequent upon a new consciousness of the society after independence. However, it is the post-independent regeneration that has lent a fillip to the new approach.

Apart from the caste council, there is a village committee in every village which is composed of all the castes living in the village. The headman of the village is invariably an upper casteman. The village committee is just an agreed forum of several castes to discuss matters of common concern, and to resolve their disputes if there are any. This ensures the maintenance of good neighbourly relations between different caste groups living in the village. Cases relating to payment of compensation for the damage of standing crops, repayment of loans and quarrels, especially where the protagonists are men of different castes, are referred to the village committee. The committee normally arbitrates in the disputes and rarely it pronounces any judgement. In the deliberation only the elder member representatives of different caste groups living in the village participate.

(To be continued)

In the Oraon belief system the 'Pahan' is considered as a man in whom the divinity is incarnated. He is considered as a being superior to man. The divine powers become incarnate in him for longer or shorter periods. The practitioners of different varieties of magic, on the other hand are considered as ordinary human beings, though possessed of an unusually high degree of powers. This type of magician draws his extraordinary powers from a certain psychical sympathy with nature. His whole being, body and soul is in harmony with the world forces. They are called by several names like Mati, Sokha, Banmani, etc., and function as Oracles and leechcraft practitioners. It is presumed that the magical art is generally employed for the benefit either of individuals or of the whole community. A few magical agencies like the witch or witchdoctor practise black-magic which is directed to cause disease, death, destruction and ill-luck. The Leechcraft practitioners and oracles are supposed to practise white-magic with the view to do good to the people. There is a well regulated native institution where the Oracular activities are learnt. The purpose of this paper

is to give a description of the Oracular activities among the Oraons.

Evans Pritchard in his book "Witchcraft among the Azande" (Page 9) defines 'oracle' as the "techniques which are supposed to reveal what cannot be discovered at all, or cannot be discovered for certain, by experiment and logical inferences therefrom". Further he states that they are regarded by the people to be more satisfactory means of ascertaining the future, and the hidden things of the present, than are witchcraft. The intrinsic meaning of Oracle is "an opinion deemed infallible". The function of the oracle is to search out the hidden or lost things. Even he can say the place where the stolen things are kept secretly. He can trace out the criminal and at the same time the things stolen by the criminal. If a man loses some money, cattle or ornaments, etc., he approaches the oracle, who can easily tell the whereabouts of the things. Even if a lost thing is lying in a tank, the instrument which he uses for tracing out must come near the tank and stop there. This would indicate that the thing is inside the tank. However in order to find

out the hidden things some magical performances are done and at the same time some rituals are observed.

### *Training of the Oracle*

A man desirous to know the oracular activities approaches a 'Guru' who should be an experienced Oracle. The Guru finally selects a day when the disciple comes with two rupees to take the course. The goddess 'Kalimai' is installed on an altar (Bedi) prepared by the Guru beforehand. The disciple is expected to bring various Puja accessories, such as dhup (incense stick), 'dhaan' (incense powder), dhup grass, Gulabhi (Merry gold flower) and a white chicken. When the puja materials are arranged, the Guru and the disciple sit facing each other before 'Kalimai'. The 'Guru' catches the hand of the disciple and whispers some incantation in the ear of the disciple. The latter, too, mutters the same spells repeatedly. Thus the hymns are crammed by repeated utterances. After one hour or so, the Guru starts worshipping Kalimai with the Puja accessories. At the end of the Puja, the white chicken is sacrificed and the blood is sprinkled over both the stone image of the goddess and the disciple. The blood is believed to be the blessing water and helps to attain the 'Sidhi'. After the puja, the Guru tells his disciple various magical processes of finding out things one after the other and finally hands over all the spells writing them on a piece of paper. These spells are indispensable while practicing the oracular activities.

The disciple, after getting his blessings from the Guru, comes to his house and starts practising the course from the full-moon day of the month of Kartika.

This day is considered to be very auspicious. In a separate apartment in the vicinity of his house, he installs the image of Kalimai. For a month, he confines himself to this room and performs Puja everyday. None but his wife is allowed into the room. She only comes at noon and at the close of the day to give food. For a month the disciple undergoes rigorous taboos such as abstention from sexual activities, all sorts of play, etc., and lived on a vegetarian diet. The regular practice of spells and incantations is supposed to make him a master of the art. At the end of the month an ostentatious ritual is performed with the sacrifice of four chickens.

### *Nature and process of Oracular activities*

The Orans believe that there are two magical processes to trace out the stolen or lost things. The first process is called 'Bichar' or judgement. That means, things lost or stolen can be found out by way of judgement. Through the judgement the oracle can tell where, how and who has taken the things or the place where it is lying. The second process is called 'Bahari'. 'Bahari' is a small brass vessel which moves itself and stops near the place where the thing is hidden. This is called 'Searching out method'. These processes also help in searching out the evil eyes.

When a man faces some loss he seeks the help of the oracle. In this case the second method is used. The oracle comes to the house of the party and clears a small portion of ground before the house. The ground is smeared with 'Dudhmatti' (White Clay). The oracle draws various small squares on the unsmeared ground with charcoal. In each square he writes with a small piece

of brick the names of persons who might be suspected and the places where the thing might have been kept. Then a small child from the 'Tirki' clan is called by the party. The child sits on an 'Assan' and a piece of cloth is tied over its eyes. The child is hypnotised by the oracle with the repeated spells. The child moves his head and hands frantically. To check this frantic action the oracle keeps his right palm on the right hand of the child. Then the child drags his hand and touches any one of the squares. Again his hand is taken out from that square and the same process is repeated. If the child touches the same square thrice, the name of the persons or places written there is taken to be the required one. But if the hand of the child does not touch the ground all the names and places written on the squares are declared to be cleared of suspicion. So again he writes other probable names in those squares. This process is very time taking and the actual name comes after a number of repetitions. Finally when the name of the person or the place is known a 'Sal Pattar' (Sal leaf) is spread on the ground on which a 'Duba' or 'Bahari' is kept. The oracle recites mantras (hymns) and throws Arua rice on it. With his magical spell, the 'Duba' starts moving towards the suspected place or the person. If the 'Duba' comes to a person and moves round him, he is considered to be the thief. If the stolen thing is buried under the ground or kept inside the tank, the 'Duba' drills the soil or goes near the tank. The person concerned or the place is ascertained by this process.

The first method, called 'Bichar' is used only when the accused is known to have left the village and remaining

in some neighbouring area. Sometimes the things lost (like cows, buffaloes, buffaloes) are known by this method. The man who casts evil eyes is also known by this method. Here the 'Judgement' is told by a 'Bahari' whose appearance is reflected on the digit of the finger.

This method is considered very authentic as the pictorial appearance of the lost thing is visible. When the picture is visible, the party can easily recognize the person, animal or thing.

In this case also the oracle proceeds in the same manner as before. The boy from the 'Tirki' clan is called and seated on an 'assan'. Before him an earthen picture is filled up with water is kept, above which a small strip of bamboo is used to threaten the mediator when his appearance is visible. A black oily substance is anointed at the top digit of the middle finger of the boy. The boy raises his hand upward showing the middle finger towards the oracle. The oracle recites 'mantras' and invokes 'Kalimai' to help him. Suddenly the 'Dut' or 'Bahari' (carrier animal of Kalimai) is visible at the black-stained digit which seems to be transparent. The 'Bahari' is threatened by the oracle with the split of bamboo to catch the actual criminal or to show the place where the stolen thing is kept. The figure gradually fades away. Just after a few minutes, the actual criminal becomes visible. With the appearance of the figure the boy loses sense.

The oracle is highly evated by the oracles in their villages. When a man does not get the deserved output from his lands, he naturally blames the evil eyes. To justify it, he approaches the oracle, who tells him the actual causes.

The oracle can trace out the evil eyes easily. If it is due to 'deota' or dissatisfaction of the pachabalar (ancestors' spirits), he advises the person to worship them by giving proper sacrifice. In the case of death, the oracle is also consulted. When a man faces an unnatural death, his people consult the oracle and know the cause of death. The oracle is also consulted to ascertain the reasons of barrenness of women. An oracle is very useful when a commoner chooses a new homestead site. When a man chooses a site for constructing the house he never starts without consulting the oracle. The owner is concerned about auspicious or inauspicious nature of the place. The oracle goes to the site and smears a small portion of the ground with cowdung. Then he keeps 'arus rice'

in three different places giving small gaps. He then covers these 'taba' (date leaf) on the rice very carefully and leaves it alone to remain throughout the night. Early in the next morning he comes and examines the covered rice. If the rice is scattered the place is considered inauspicious and the house can never be constructed there, but if it remains in tact the place is declared to be auspicious.

Magic is ordinarily employed for therapeutic purposes. The distinctive feature of oracular magic is that it is also employed for detection of crimes. Thus in the orson society both medicine and the criminal code of the tribe form an integrated pattern in conjunction with magic.

In less than two years the Third Five-Year Plan will close yielding place to the 4th. The transition from plan to plan has been marked by increased outlay on the welfare of Backward Classes. In the First Plan of Orissa it was of the order of Rs. 227.58 lakhs. In the 2nd it increased to Rs. 714.00 lakhs and in the 3rd the estimated outlay is Rs. 841.67 lakhs under both State and Central Sectors. The Fourth Five-Year Plan is on the anvil, but indications are that the outlay is likely to be of a still higher order and we may expect it to be at least one and a half times of the Third Five-Year Plan outlay.

This special provision is intended to supplement the efforts which are made for the welfare of the Backward Classes out of provisions in the departmental budgets particularly

of those concerning development of Agriculture, Education, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Health and Sanitation, Industries, Housing, etc. Although in this State an earmarking has not been attempted as in Andhra Pradesh, it is intended that a suitable portion of the investment should be made for the specific benefit of the Backward Classes which would be supplemented by the special provisions. Accordingly, a substantial input of expenditure is expected to be made on this account, and as stated above its size is going to increase in future.

It would not be in vain to pause for a moment to look back and also to look ahead particularly against the background of formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan and possibly of still future Plans but it would be

well in that context to confine our outlook to a more concrete field, i.e., Education and Employment. The sphere of economic development would be comparatively a more elusive pursuit. In 1941, the level of literacy of the Scheduled Tribes, the main wing of the Backward Classes in this State was only 1.50 per cent against the general level of 9.70 per cent which

rose by 1961, according to the census figures, to 7.36 per cent and 21.66 per cent, respectively. By the year 1961, we were in the beginning of the Third Five-year Plan period. In the matter of employment, against the reservation of 20 per cent in Classes I and II and 50 per cent in Classes III and IV of Government services the achievement was as below :—

Year	Class I			Class II		
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1939-40	220	..	..	1,634	4	0.24
1961-62	481	1	0.20	2,360	10	0.42

Year	Class III			Class IV		
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage
1	8	9	10	11	12	13
1939-40	25,402	1,784	7.02	21,153	1,734	8.15
1961-62	45,619	3,227	7.18	40,272	3,188	7.91



From the available statistics it appears that among the Scheduled Tribes, the number of boys and

girls who had passed different levels of qualifying examinations was as under :—

Year	Middle standard	High school	Inter-mediates	Graduates
1958 ..	2,216	115	57	8
1961 ..	2,459	222	70	17

The estimated number of School-going Scheduled Tribe children of different age-groups was as follows

in the year 1961-62, the number that attended school is also shown in the table :—

Age-group	Total No.	No. attending school	Percentage
6—14 (Primary & Middle) ..	891,057	199,935	22.43
15—18 (High School) ..	296,194	3,356	1.80

These figures merely confirm that there is still a vast leeway to be made up by the Scheduled Tribes to come to a comparable level with the general population in the matter of education and employment. They also lend some<sup>9</sup> clue as to why the Scheduled Tribes are still socially backward and economically poor and exploited. They also explain in some measure why the Scheduled Tribes have not been able to take advantage of the employment opportunities that are opening up even in their own areas. Not only small-scale industries are growing up, but some of the large scale industries on the national level are springing up at their very door step. The Rourkela Steel Factory and Fertiliser Plant, and the Aero-

engine Factory are instances of this. In the case of the the former where the construction phase is over expansion programmes hold a substantial employment potential for the skilled and semi-skilled worker. In the latter case almost the whole field awaits exploitation.

The Adibasi does grow a number of oil-seeds and rabi crops and fruits like banana, pineapple and jack-fruits on a fairly extensive scale in some areas. He has almost the monopoly of collection of minor forest produce like tamarind, broom, gum, honey and grows Tassar and Lac in some parts. The production of crops like turmeric and ginger in the hills and dates of the Adibasi

area is almost his birth right monopoly. Yet, in all these this is the unenviable position of the losing partner only. The trading class middlemen rob him of the produce which he has perforce to part with almost for a song in all cases. He is not able to withstand this large scale exploitation.

He clears the forests and breaks new land for cultivation at great personal struggle and risk, but hardly ever escapes the cunning ruse of the plains-man from parting with the land and falling in perpetual bondage of the latter who cleverly manipulates to get round the legal hurdles in the way of transfer of the land. The Adibasi is not able to withstand the exploitation.

He toils hard in the face of natural and man made hurdles to eke out a living however meagre, but finds in the end left with almost nothing. To fight his hunger, and frustration he takes to drink, but soon falls a prey to its deadening effect. He attached social customs, religious rituals, and even economic processes to liquor and his priest supports the evil practice under religious sanctions and superstitious beliefs. The Adibasi finds it impossible to withstand all this.

All that point to one inevitable conclusion that the Adibasi must come to his own; he must be able to stand on his own legs and fight the cunning and exploitation. He must realise that life is not to be lived indifferently under a cloud of frustration. He must have ambition and also the ability to enjoy the fruits of his labour. He should also be able to withstand temptation of the evils of modern

life. Instances are not rare where it has been noticed that the benefits of the schemes undertaken for the economic development of the Backward Classes went to others. In Ceylon some years ago for the Veddhas' a very backward tribal community of Ceylon, a large scale resettlement scheme was put into execution. Large forest areas were reclaimed and developed for agriculture with irrigation and other facilities. The Veddha families were given good houses to live in and the land was allotted for cultivation by them. They reaped a bumper harvest from the land, got good returns from the poultry units each family was given to rear on modern lines. In short they had almost a transformation. But it was noticed that in the vicinity of the settlement bazars grew up. Traders from the towns and cities brought wares ranging from cycles and stoves to silks and rouge and lip-sticks. The Veddhas took little or no time to be fascinated by the tinklets and gadgets and all their hard earned wealth flowed to the trader's chest. They became indebted to them and started mortgaging their lands. The impact of modern life appeared to threaten the apparent prosperity of the 'Vadda'. This attracted the attention of the administrators and social workers and as a result a study of the problem was undertaken being sponsored by the UNESCO. This is a concrete instance in the field of welfare works for backward people to illustrate how a mere economic programme may not yield the desired result. It has to be a comprehensive programme, and perhaps equal or greater emphasis on building up the outlook, and mental stamina would be necessary.

We have embarked upon programmes of Backward Classes welfare, and as stated above the successive plans are designed to put in increasing outlay for that. Here in our State the brunt of the burden for execution of the schemes is borne by two agencies, viz., (1) the Local Bodies or the Panchayati Raj institutions, and (2) the Government agency. We are still lacking the non-official agency. The opinion is sometimes expressed that in the case of the more backward tribals the traditional tribal council should take the place of the statutory Local Bodies. It has been noticed that in some cases the elected representatives being illiterate and uninformed are not taking any interest in the work of the Panchayats or are operating as mere hench-men of the few clever and cunning non-tribal members who are holding the key positions in the Panchayats. But there are also cases where not the traditional, e.g., social and religious leaders, but young active and popular persons, have been chosen and they are seen to be comparatively less amenable to serve the second fiddle. It may be putting the clock back to replace the statutory by the traditional councils.

We are thus left with the two agencies of the Local Bodies with elected representatives, and the Government staff to handle the execution of the schemes. To get the desired result three things are necessary, so that the representatives, and bureaucracy can function in the right direction and right spirit and with efficiency.

Firstly, the representatives in the Panchayati Raj institutions, particularly the Grama Panchayat and

Panchayat Samiti must receive intensive training in the organisation and functioning of the Panchayati Raj and execution and supervision of schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes. They should believe in the measures adopted for this purpose and in respect of schemes practise a few of them according to their inclination and preference. They should know the programme intimately and show by example that the schemes are worth execution. One may show that in respect of horticulture, and poultry rearing. But all must emphasise the programmes of education and training. They will have to take keen interest in the village school and all educational and social education programmes. In order to enable them to do so they shall have to be given the opportunity of training and education. This is the first essential.

Secondly, the Government officials who have the responsibility of execution starting from the Village Level Worker of the Block must know the tribal background and must be trained in the proper approach to the Backward Classes. They, at least some of them, have a rich heritage of culture and outstanding qualities of forbearance, and a sense of independence and lack of complex. They have their own sense of values which they respect in society. The workers have to understand all that and approach them in the proper manner and spirit. In some cases the tribals do not understand much of the local language. Contact with them for one who does not know their dialect is possible only through the local non-tribal who

usually exploits them. It is, therefore, necessary for the workers to have a good working knowledge of tribal languages of the areas. This will enable them to win their confidence which is essentially necessary for successful implementation of the schemes. Like the representatives on the Local Bodies, these workers also should not only have clear grasp of the details of schemes, and they should also set example by practising them as far as practicable to impress that they believe in the schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes and also that they are productive of good results.

Thirdly, the Government employees who are entrusted with the execution of schemes for the welfare of Backward Classes should be given encouragement and opportunity to work wholeheartedly for the success of the schemes. On the other hand the Block and other staff when they are posted to such areas usually take it as an unkindly act and they are anxious to get away from there. Since they are cut off from common amenities of life they deserve to be suitably compensated in the shape of special allowance, special consideration for promotion and posting after a suitable period of service in the backward area. This is the third essential.

**IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE  
DEPARTMENT DURING THE QUARTER ENDING  
THE 31ST MARCH 1964**

*Administrative set up*

Shri B. G. Rao Patnaik, I. A. S., assumed the charge of the office of the Secretary, Tribal & Rural Welfare Department and Director, Tribal Research Bureau, with effect from the 22nd February 1964. A temporary gazetted post of Special Officer, Tribal Art and Culture, in the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department in the scale of Rs. 500—900 has been created for one year, with effect from the 1st March 1964 to the 28th February 1965 for reorientation of tribal dance, drama and music in the State.

*Education*

During the quarter under review 535 Scheduled Tribe students, 677 Scheduled Caste students and 880 Other Backward Class students were awarded Post Matric Scholarships. An amount of Rs. 12,23,557 was spent for the purpose.

With a view to watch the progress of general education and other activities of the students residing in the Ashram Schools, monthly examination in different subjects has been introduced on the lines adopted in Public Schools. It has also been decided to maintain monthly progress chart in respect of each student. These charts will indicate their progress in general education and their conduct in school and hostel and behaviour with fellow students, teachers and outsiders.

*Economic Uplift*

In view of increase in the cost of building materials the State Government moved Government of India to enhance the rate of subsidy for construction of houses for Scheduled Tribes from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,250. Government of India have agreed to raise the upper limit of the subsidy to Rs. 1,600 out of which 75 per cent will be borne by Government and the balance will be contributed by the beneficiaries in shape of labour.

*Miscellaneous*

(a) A seminar on employment, education and training of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes was convened at New Delhi from the 30th January 1964 to the 2nd February 1964. The Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare, Director and Special Officer attended the conference.

The twelfth meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 29th February 1964 under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister. The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Classification of Scheduled Tribes in Orissa
- (2) Reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in various services.

- (3) To make more stringent the existing rules prohibiting transfer of immovable property by Tribals to non-tribals.
- (4) Restriction on non-tribals engaged in Podu cultivation
- (5) Reorganisation of field staff of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department
- (6) Payment of scholarship to all Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students reading in various educational institutions.

A conference of District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officers and regional Deputy Directors of Grama Panchayat and Tribal Welfare was also held at Bhubaneswar on the 9th February 1964 and 10th February 1964, under the Chairmanship of Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare.

The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Timely distribution of scholarship and reading and writing materials
- (2) Repairs to Sevashram buildings
- (3) Progress of Orchard Scheme introduced in Ashram School
- (4) Clearance of D. C. Bills

The second meeting of the Advisory Board of Tribal Research Bureau was held on 9th March 1964 with the Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare in the Chair. The Board recommended a scheme for expansion of the Research Bureau. A comprehensive plan for the culture survey of the most backward tribal areas was also prepared by the Board.

(b) The pavilion set up by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department within the premises of Industrial Exhibition during last plenary session of the All-India National Congress at Bhubaneswar occupied first place in respect of decoration and display. The life and culture of tribals depicted in a large number of dioramas and exhibition of their material culture and life-size photographs were the greatest attractions of the whole exhibition.